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Chemical Weapons Conference Concludes in Paris

Ministers Address Meeting

LD1101131989 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 11 TASS—By TASS correspondents Yuriy Lopatin and Nikita Yermakov:

Participants in the International Conference on Chemical Weapons declare in support of the idea of completely eliminating chemical weapons. The conference is being held in the UNESCO Palace.

A universal aspiration to ban chemical weapons becomes obvious. The principal ways leading to that are to expedite the process of elaborating, at the Geneva conference on disarmament, a convention fully banning this class of weapons of mass destruction, and consolidating the 1925 Geneva protocol banning the use of chemical weapons.

We are for a ban on these weapons and for the elimination of their stocks as well as for the destruction of facilities for their production, stated Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca. He expressed regret that numerous scientific and technological discoveries served military purposes, not peaceful ones. The speaker emphasized the indissoluble connection between disarmament, peace and development. Disarmament measures being taken should create favourable conditions for the development of Third-World countries, in the first place.

Ambassador Fatuma Tatu Nuru, the leader of the Tanzanian delegation, said the problem of interrelationship between chemical disarmament and development had been raised by representatives of a number of other countries, African ones, in particular. She spoke approvingly of efforts towards the elimination of chemical arms.

Venezuelan Foreign Minister Herman Nava Carrillo, touching upon the danger of proliferation of chemical weapons, expressed the view that the termination of the process should not only limit the number of countries possessing such weapons but also curb a build-up of their stocks by those countries which already have them.

Vietnamese representative Pham Binh, having recalled that his country had fallen victim to large-scale use of chemical weapons, nevertheless did not produce and did not possess such weapons, and was calling for their complete elimination.

Some speakers also raised the question of verification compliance with provisions which will be contained in a convention fully banning chemical weapons. Maltese delegate Albert Borg Oliver de Puget cited as an example the machinery of inspections specified in the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty.

Finnish Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa suggested that the developing countries share technical resources in the training of specialists who could be used to verify compliance with future convention's provisions.

If some country does not have a sufficiently developed chemical industry, this should not serve as an obstacle to acceding to the document, he pointed out.

The idea of declaring definite geographical areas to be zones free from chemical weapons becomes increasingly popular. Australia is free from such weapons and suggests that they be absent from our region altogether, emphasized David Rees, leader of the Australian delegation.

The conference is to end today. A final document is expected to be signed.

Final Declaration

PM1201122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

["Final Declaration of the Conference on the Prohibition of the Use of Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The representatives of states participating in the Conference on the Prohibition of the Use of Chemical Weapons, bringing together states who were party to the Geneva protocol of 1925 and other interested states in Paris from 7 to 11 January 1989, solemnly declare the following:

1. The participating states are determined to promote international peace and security throughout the world in accordance with the UN Charter and to pursue an effective disarmament process. In this context, they are determined to prevent any recourse to chemical weapons by completely eliminating them. They solemnly affirm their commitment not to use chemical weapons and condemn such use. They recall their serious concern over recent violations as established and condemned by the competent organs of the United Nations. They support the humanitarian assistance given to the victims affected by chemical weapons.

2. The participating states recognize the importance and continuing validity of the protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other similar gases and bacteriological methods of warfare, signed on 17 June 1925 in Geneva. Signatory states to the protocol solemnly reaffirm the prohibition as established in it. They call upon all states which have not yet done so to accede to the protocol.

3. The participating states stress the necessity of concluding, at an early date, a convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling, and use of all chemical weapons, and on their destruction. This convention should be global, comprehensive, and effectively verifiable. It should be of unlimited duration. To this end, they call on the conference on disarmament in

Geneva to redouble its efforts, as a matter of urgency, to resolve expeditiously the remaining issues and to conclude the convention at the earliest date. All states are requested to make, in an appropriate way, a significant contribution to the negotiations in Geneva by undertaking efforts in the relevant fields. The participating states therefore believe that any state wishing to contibute to these negotiations should be able to do so. In addition, in order to achieve as soon as possible the indispensable, universal character of the convention, they call upon all states to become parties thereto without delay, as soon as it is concluded.

4. The states participating in the conference are gravely concerned by the growing danger posed to international peace and security by the risk of the use of chemical weapons as long as such weapons remain and are spread. In this context, they stress the need for the early conclusion and implementation of the convention, which will be established on a nondiscriminatory basis. They deem it necessary, in the meantime, for each state to exercise restraint and to act responsibly in accordance with the purpose of the present declaration.

5. The states participating in the conference confirm their full support for the United Nations in the discharge of its indispensable role, in conformity with its charter. They affirm that the United Nations provides a framework and an instrument enabling the international community to exercise vigilance with respect to the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons. They confirm their support for appropriate and effective steps taken by the United Nations in this respect, in conformity with its charter. They further reaffirm their full support for the secretary general in carrying out his responsibilities for investigations in the event of alleged violations of the Geneva protocol. They express their wish for early completion of the work undertaken to strengthen the efficiency of existing procedures and call for the cooperation of all states, in order to facilitate the action of the secretary general.

6. The states participating in the conference, recalling the final document of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978, underline the need to pursue with determination their efforts to secure general and complete disarmament under effective international control, so as to ensure the right of all states to peace and security.

Karpov Comments on Chemical Weapons Talks

Views Need for Convention

LD1101223289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent A. Potapov]

[Text] An International Conference on Chemical Weapons has ended in Paris.

[Potapov] This forum in Paris has become a major event in international life. Nearly 150 states sent their delegations to the French capital. Calls for a complete ban on chemical weapons could be heard in practically every speech at the conference. Now it is the final sitting. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is in the chair, has announced that the final declaration, which expresses the single political will of the international community to put an end to chemical weapons, has been unanimously adopted by all the delegations without exception. Journalists have rushed to the telephones. The interest in the final document is enormous. The conference press center is working at full capacity. Many political commentators here have interpreted the declaration, and the conference itself, as a weighty contribution to the process of real disarmament already underway; as an example of the possibility of reaching unanimous agreement even on such a complicated issue as this; and finally as a good omen for international relations in the year that has just begun. [video shows conference, presidium, journalists]

We are talking to Comrade Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister. Viktor Pavlovich, in the course of the conference, various delegations expressed different nuances, approaches, and positions of their own; but now that the declaration has been adopted, what in your opinion is the main—key, I'd say—result of the conference that has just ended?

[Karpov] In my opinion the key result of the conference consists is that it is a concentrated expression of the intolerance of chemical weapons which is developing in the international community. Now, as never before, we must not miss the opportunity to elaborate a convention which not only bans the use of chemical weapons in war, but which also bans their manufacture and storage and envisages the complete elimination of stocks under international control. That is what I think is the main result of the conference.

[Potapov] In your opinion, has this conference become a kind of stimulus for the quickest possible conclusion of a convention?

[Karpov] I would like to hope that this is so and, of course, additional efforts will be needed at the talks in Geneva, within the conference on disarmament, in order to embody the stimulus of this conference in the real concrete form of a convention which can be drawn up for signing. [video shows the interview]

[Potapov] And so the meeting in Paris is over. Now the world will wait for the next important stage—the adoption of an all-embracing convention on chemical weapons in Geneva. [video shows building, state flags]

Sees Stimulus for Further Disarmament

LD1201005989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Paris. 11 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondents Yuriy Lopatin and Nikita Yermakov report:

The International Conference on Chemical Weapons, which finished successfully today in the French capital, issued a declaration which may be considered convincing evidence of the fact that intolerance of chemical weapons is increasingly becoming an international norm in the conduct of states. Viktor Karpov, deputy head of the Soviet delegation and USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, stated this in an interview to TASS correspondents on the results of the Paris conference.

That the final document condemned the use of chemical weapons and called for the earliest conclusion of a convention that would ban them completely and would eliminate the stockpiles of these weapons under international control is evidence of the fact that a new situation is really coming about now, he said. There is the additional possibility of finishing once and for all with these most barbaric weapons of mass destruction. It must not be missed. It is necessary to take advantage of the impetus given by the Paris forum at the forthcoming talks at the conference on disarmament to try as quickly as possible, in accordance with the decisions that have been made here, to prepare for the signing of the text of the convention.

The practical conditions for this exist, and it is now up to the delegations in Geneva, who should immediately work on the text of the convention, the Soviet representative continued. The very atmosphere of the Paris conference showed that, despite individual disagreements between its participants, despite the fact that points of view were expressed on chemical weapons being tied in with various other mass destruction weapons; nonetheless the dominant feeling is that it is now time to take specific measures assuring a turn away from condemning the use of chemical weapons toward actual steps to eliminate them from arsenals.

The Paris conference is the first forum this year to discuss an aspect of the disarmament problem, he went on to note. There are other aspects to disarmament. The Vienna meeting within the framework of the all-European process—where a decision is being made about commencing subsequent talks relating to reductions in troops and arms, and likewise to further measures for the strengthening of trust within Europe—is now winding up. One would like to hope that these forums too, which may commence work by March, will be marked by a search for consensus. Their decisions would signify a real turn in the situation in Europe. The adoption of specific measures to eliminate imbalances and asymetries, and to remove the offensive character of the armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact, would provide for a real reduction in troops and armaments in Europe in the coming years. It would gradually become possible, by means of resolutions on reductions in troops and armaments, to acheive a restructuring of the armed forces of the two alliances which would completely exclude the conducting of offensive operations. That task proceeds from the doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Pact states back in 1987. The Soviet Union has already begun to implement this doctrine unilaterally.

There is one more direction which will be the focus of attention this year, said V.P. Karpov. That is the bilateral Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, where a solid foundation has already been laid. Currently they are going through a pause. This is natural because a change of administration is taking place in the United States. The new administration obviously must have some time to take a look around, to work out an approach to these talks, and to determine specific directives for its delegation. We believe the interval will not be too long. The Soviet side is ready to continue talks at any time convenient for the U.S. side. We hope that these negotiations may lead in 1989 to an ultimate solution of the problem of a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons, naturally under conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty.

These directions of the talks are part of a common task of building a nonnuclear and nonviolent world, which was clearly formulated in a practical way in the statement of M.S. Gorbachev on 15 January 1986. At first, we had to prove the feasability of our approach. In 1986 the statement was received by all as an expression of intent by the Soviet Union. Many doubted whether there were real prospects for the actual implementation of the proposals formulated therein. One can now state firmly that the program is realizable. Its first result is the conclusion of the INF Treaty, whose successful implementation shows that the ideas of the statement on the liquidation of nuclear weapons can be tackled in practice. The system of verification within its framework serves as an example for other agreements which may be concluded.

The statement of 15 January 1986 is already working. The task now is to develop and strengthen the results which have been achieved, and to reflect them in practical measures in the sphere of conventional, chemical, and nuclear weapons. The time remaining before the year 2000 must be used for other aspects of the statement to become a reality, stressed the Soviet spokesman in conclusion.

Urges U.S. Restraint on Weapons

LD1201115689 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 11 Jan 89

[From "Newsnight" report on the International Conference on Chemical Weapons; interview with Soviet chief arms negotiator Viktor Karpov by BBC correspondent Edward Stourton in Paris, also incorporating comments by British arms negotiator Tessa Solesby and U.S arms negotiator Lynn Hanson; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Stourton] The talks to ban the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons in Geneva have been going on for 16 years. Many of the important issues of principle—like the need for surprise checks to ensure verification—have been settled, but America and her allies are much more cautious than the Soviets about the time scale for a final agreement.

[Solesby] What is holding up the negotiations, or what has to be overcome, are a series of difficult technical problems, particularly as regards verification. And we've got to continue working away at solving those.

[Karpov] When I hear an argument that technical questions are the most difficult ones, you see, I not always believe to [as heard] that argument because I know the example of the preparation of the INF Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. There is a lot of technical questions there, and for many months they were blocking the way for the agreement.

[Stourton] America is still building new chemical weapons, and that's made them vulnerable to the Soviets in the battle for world public opinion. It was revealed this week that President Reagan's final budget includes a sharp increase in spending on chemical weapons technology and delivery systems.

[Karpov] I don't consider that reasonable restraint. It's not a restraint at all. And I hope that this budget, when it is discussed in Congress, may be discussed having in mind the results of this very Paris conference and maybe we see some restraint on the part of the United States as a result of that discussion, as a result of this conference.

[Hanson] I know how it looks. I understand this view. But what we're... [changes thought] Our primary and first concern is going to be that we protect our security, the security of the United States, and that of our allies, and this is part of that program. It's something which our allies know and understand, and it's something that we have made public from the very beginning so it's no secret.

Notes Need for U.S. Data

PM1201090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report compiled by S. Guk in Moscow and Yu. Kovalenko in Paris: "Heated Debates Around the Final Declaration. The Work of the Paris Conference Is Drawing to an End"]

[Excerpts] The International Conference on Chemical Weapons is ending its work in Paris. The general debate in which some 110 delegates have taken part is drawing to a close. [passage omitted]

A number of nonaligned countries have formed a kind of mediation committee trying to help the sides draw up mutually acceptable formulations. The Paris conference is to adopt a declaration devoted solely to the nonuse of chemical weapons. As for a global ban on the development, production, stockpiling, acquisition, possession, transfer, and utilization of these weapons—that is a prerogative of the Geneva disarmament conference. According to the Paris LE MONDE, it is not very likely that the countries which favor "linkage" between chemical and nuclear weapon problems will allow themselves to be isolated from the world community, thus jeopardizing the outcome of the Paris conference.

In his speech at the conference [Finnish Foreign Minister] K. Sorsa noted in particular the importance of the mechanism of verification and inspection in the cause of eliminating chemical weapons: "We must not reject inspections, we must, furthermore, assist them in every way."

A number of delegates from developing countries stressed the need not only to end the production of chemical weapons without delay, but also to destroy all stockpiles.

"The Paris conference participants," V.P. Karpov, member of the Soviet delegation and deputy foreign minister, noted at a press conference, "have expressed themselves in favor of concluding as soon as possible a convention which would ban all chemical weapons and their production, storage, and transfer to other countries. The convention would also define the procedure for the destruction of these weapons under strict international verification.

"We favor parallel progress in all spheres of disarmament," V.P. Karpov said further, "be it nuclear, chemical, or conventional arms. However, to link the elimination of chemical weapons with the elimination of nuclear weapons, as some countries are proposing, would only serve to drag out the solution of the problem pertaining to the destruction of chemical toxins.

"We are waiting for information from the United States about the size of its chemical weapon stockpiles," the USSR deputy minister stated in answer to a question from a U.S. journalist. "As soon as we are given this information, we will in turn specify the location of Soviet stockpiles. Finally, if the United States stops producing chemical weapons, this will contribute to bringing the conclusion of a convention nearer. As for the rate of destruction of our chemical weapons, it will depend on the progress achieved toward the conclusion of a convention banning these weapons."

"Is it possible to hope that the Soviet Union, in view of Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's statement at the Paris meeting, will get rid of chemical weapons on the territory of the GDR?"—a West German journalist asked.

"We have no such weapons on the territory of other countries."

It is expected that the final declaration will be adopted in Paris during the night of 11-12 January.

U.S. Reaction to Chemical Arms Proposal Viewed

OW1101121689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1105 GMT 10 Jan 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] Hello, comrades. I will start my review with a report from Paris. The International Conference on Chemical Weapons continues its work there. The efforts of the world community on arms control are again concentrated on chemical arms. This happens half a century after their use was banned by the 1925 Geneva protocol. Unfortunately, this protocol does not have the power of an international treaty banning the use and stockpiling of chemical arms.

Talks on the conclusion of such a treaty or convention have already been going on in Geneva for 5 years, but no agreement has been reached so far. This is why the goal of the current Paris conference lies not only in confirming the 1925 treaty, but also in giving a political impetus to the Geneva talks and the signing of a convention calling for a ban on the production and use of chemical arms. [video shows conference hall, speakers]

The decision of our country to begin the destruction of our existing stock of chemical arms, and to do so unilaterally and before the conclusion of an international convention, as declared by Comrade Shevardnadze, has caused great repercussions at the conference.

Secretary of State Shultz approvingly referred to this decision of our government. He said that he sees the Soviet initiative at the Paris conference as a constructive one. Shultz said that chemical disarmament is an area where the United States and the USSR have an opportunity to work toward achieving results.

However, some Washington political figures perceive our country's decision very skeptically and advocate continued U.S. production of chemical arms. As is known, chemical arms are produced at a new Arkansas plant, where new systems and means of delivery for these lethal weapons are being developed. [video shows chemical plant, journalist David Brinkley, and Senators Boren and Dole]

Senator Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, stated in an interview that insofar as inspection and control [inspektsiya i kontrol] for the production and destruction of chemical arms are not secured, there is no sense in speaking about a convention. Senator Robert Dole justified the unwillingness of the United States to begin the destruction of its stock by the absence of a guarantee that Third World countries or terrorists cannot use this barbarous weapon against the United States.

One should note, however, that the conference discussions are proceeding in a positive spirit and that there is a hope that it will bring good results.

Obukhov on Prospects for 50-Percent Arms Cut

LD1201114589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—The problems which remain in the course of drafting an accord on 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear weapons can be solved, given goodwill on both sides. This is what Ambassador Aleksey Obukhov, head of the USSR's delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, believes.

In the latest issue of NEW TIMES magazine, he writes that there are still many parentheses in the existing joint drafts prepared by the delegations, marking the differences in their positions, and for that reason the path to an accord will not be an easy one. In order to progress, joint efforts will have to be made to resolve fundamental matters such as the achievement of agreement on observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed time, that is, in accordance with the well-known Washington formula on this score.

The Soviet ambassador also numbers among the important remaining problems the limitation of long-range sea-based cruise missiles, with appropriate verification, and certain as yet unresolved aspects of the issue of long-range air-launched cruise missiles. There is also work to be done in the sphere of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles and a number of other issues.

But on the whole, the Soviet diplomatic notes, if we act in the spirit of continuity of negotiations—and the new President-elect George Bush has publicly advocated precisely this—with the intention of reaching effective and mutually acceptable decisions, then there is every reason to count on success.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing

Comments on Shultz 9 Jan Speech

LD1101154189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet Union studied with interest the assessment of the present stage of world development and the state of Soviet-U.S. relations given by the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in his speech on 9 January, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated here today at a briefing.

He noted that the position set out by George Shultz coincides in many aspects with the Soviet viewpoint. The USSR and the United States have made their contribution to a material improvement in the international climate and, first and foremost, to reducing the danger of nuclear war. No small amount of credit for achieving these positive changes goes to George Shultz himself, said the USSR Foreign Ministry representative.

Thanks to the constructive interaction between our two countries, he continued, it has proved possible in the recent period to make headway in resolving protracted regional problems, and to achieve progress in arranging broad international cooperation in the field of humanitarian matters and human rights. At the same time many acute problems in the world remain. It is obvious that they must be addressed by means of a persistent quest for mutually acceptable accords while respecting the legitimate rights and interests of all members of the world community.

The USSR Foreign Ministry representative commented on the draft U.S. federal budget for fiscal year 1990, presented by the administration of Ronald Reagan. The draft provides for an increase in defense spending of up to $315 billion. The increase in allocations provided for in the document for practically all of the Pentagon's main programs, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, testifies to a certain inertia in the thinking of U.S. politicians and military, who do not wish to take account of the changes in the international situation. In this regard, he drew the attention of journalists to the fact that a preliminary study carried out in the USSR points to the possibilities of cutting the country's defense spending without lowering its level of security. "In the view of the Soviet side, such an approach is more relevant to the tasks of strengthening general security," stressed Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Notes Akhromeyev Honorary Title

LD1101144389 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev was awarded the 1988 honorary title of the U.S. journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY for best achievements among statesmen and military leaders. Announcing this to a briefing today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that the same title was awarded, alongside Sergey Akhromeyev, also to special adviser on arms control matters of the U.S. Department of State Paul Nitze and former NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington.

The AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY points to Marshal Akhromeyev's important contribution to the Soviet-American talks on arms control, also to the working out of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and progress in drafting an agreement on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms.

"We hold that the journal's decision reflects the changing attitude in the USA to Soviet-American relations and recognition of the importance of the further arms reduction," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

On behalf of Sergey Akhromeyev, who is now adviser of the president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Gennadiy Gerasimov expressed gratitude to the U.S. journal.

On AIDS Testing for Foreigners

LD1101190089 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Seventeen million people have been tested for AIDS in the Soviet Union since the beginning of 1988, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said at a news briefing today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said 112 Soviet citizens and 334 foreigners were identified as carrying the AIDS virus. Most of these foreigners have already left the Soviet Union.

Three foreigners and two Soviet citizens were found to have developed the disease, the official said.

Gerasimov told reporters about new regulations which have supplemented the August 25, 1987 decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet on measures to prevent the spread of the deadly virus.

According to the regulations, effective since January 1, 1989, foreigners arriving in the Soviet Union for more than three months will have to undergo an AIDS test in this country if they do not have certificates, mutually accepted by special agreements, proving they are AIDS-free.

Gerasimov said foreigners may request a representative of their embassy to be present at the test.

If foreigners avoid the testing or if they are found to be carriers of the virus or suffering from the disease, they may be requested to leave the Soviet Union.

If they avoid both being tested and leaving the country, they are to be detained and expelled from the Soviet Union following a prosecutor's sanction, Gerasimov said.

The spokesman said that the results of testing will be made confidential. If a foreigner is identified as carrying the AIDS virus or suffering from the disease, only the diplomatic mission of the foreigner's country will be notified about this in a coordinated procedure.

Gerasimov also said that only disposable sterile syringes will be used in the blood testing.

Cites Earthquake Statistics

LD1101171489 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The overall death toll of the Armenian earthquake is 24,920 people, according to statistics of January 8, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here on Wednesday.

A total of 11,859 quake victims were taken to hospital and 8,644 have so far been discharged. According to Gerasimov, 112,077 people were evacuated from the disaster area, and 67,190 of them went to USSR health resorts. Clearing of the debris is going on. Some 172 million roubles have been paid to quake victims in the form of single-payment grants and as compensation for destroyed houses and other structures. The sanitary and epidemiological situation in the disaster area continues to be satisfactory, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

On Angola, Namibia Settlement

LD1101172889 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The withdrawal of the first group of Cuban troops from Angolan territory, which started on Tuesday, has become possible thanks to the December 22, 1988 tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa on settlement in southwestern Africa, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said today.

Granting independence to Namibia on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 is an important part of this agreement. Under the programme for the resolution's implementation, the United Nations' plan for sending a U.N. group to Namibia to extend assistance to it in the transitional period, is to become effective on April 1.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told reporters that the Soviet Union "attaches big importance to the forthcoming U.N. operation in Namibia as it will help the Namibian people achieve genuine national independence and offer a positive example of the United Nations' effective possibilities."

In its approach to the issue, he went on, the Soviet Union is guided by the idea that the U.N. operation in Namibia is to meet, above all, the interests of the Namibian people.

The spokesman said the Soviet Union intends to continue its interaction with the participatns in the settlement, the United Nations, Frontline States and SWAPO, and do everything depending on it to implement in full measure Resolution 435.

On expenditures on the U.N. operation in Namibia, Gerasimov said:

"The Soviet Union is convinced that the task of implementing in full measure the U.N. plan for Namibia is quite realistic, given a reasonable saving of funds for its implementation.

"Specifically, this can be achieved by passing a generally acceptable resolution by the U.N. Security Council."

Supports Morocco-Polisario Contacts

LD1101173789 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—"We in the Soviet Union have received with interest a report on new direct contacts between Morocco and the Polisario Front in Marrakesh. This positive step attests to the political realism of their participants," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

The Soviet side notes with satisfaction the first signs of headway in resolving the protracted Western Sahara conflict and supports the peace efforts by the U.N. secretary general and the Organisation of African Unity, he said. The USSR considers that the Marrakesh discussions became possible largely thanks to an improvement of the general situation in Maghreb. They testify to a trend, now gathering momentum in the world, toward liquidating regional pockets of tensions, which is a direct consequence of the assertion of the principles of the new political thinking in international relations.

The Soviet Union, advocating a settlement of the Western Sahara problem via dialogue on the basis of the balance of interests, can only welcome such a development, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Israeli Visitors To Get Visas

LD1101173389 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, on Wednesday denied allegations of some foreign commentators that the Soviet Union is delaying entry visas to Israeli basketball fans who want to come to the Soviet Union.

Speaking at a briefing here, Gerasimov said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Consular Directorate had instructed the Soviet Embassy in Vienna on January 9 to grant entry visas to 175 Israeli fans.

The Israeli fans want to attend a European champions' cup match between the team of the Soviet Central Army Sports Club (CSKA) and Israeli "Makkabi", to be played in Moscow on January 12.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Policy Trends

PM1101153289 Paris LE FIGARO in French 10 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Charles Lambroschini, Pierre Bocev, and Denis Legras; date, place not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz told reporters Sunday evening that he had conveyed to you the file on the Al-Rabitah chemical plant in Libya and that from your conversation he gained the impression that he had convinced you somewhat. Were his arguments really convincing, and what is the Soviet Union's present stance with regard to the plant?

[Shevardnadze] No, I would not say that he convinced me. He showed me a plan, but it proved absolutely nothing. I told him that they were very serious charges and that a thorough clarification was necessary. The Libyans could not have constructed a factory capable of manufacturing chemical weapons on their own. If you accept this point, it presupposes that foreign companies were involved. So my first observation was this: It is necessary to be objective and to seek the truth. Next I expressed the hope of seeing the Soviet Union and the United States combining their efforts to avert another confrontation in the region. This is a major task at present.

[Interviewer] Does this mean that through the USSR's mediation the Americans and Libyans have reached a compromise that permits, on the one hand, the elimination of the threat of reprisals against Tripoli by Washington and, on the other, the prevention of the production of chemical weapons?

[Shevardnadze] We are willing to accept any mission whatsoever to prevent another confrontation in the region. What should it be called? It is up to you: mediation, or another label. Be that as it may, this is the direction we are working in.

[Interviewer] Has this Soviet mission already begun?

[Shevardnadze] It has already begun. My conversation with Mr Shultz on Sunday was very serious. Previously we had contacts with both the Libyans and the Americans. We have also been in touch with other states. Always with the same aim: to ensure that this affair does not undergo further dangerous developments. In any case it is not only the chemical plant that poses a problem. There was also the very serious air incident resulting in the destruction of two Libyan aircraft.

[Interviewer] You have also met with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens. Is it possible to envisage an early restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel?

[Shevardnadze] We view the future of Soviet-Israeli relations through the prism of a settlement in the Near East, and I believe the Israeli authorities realize this. So your question is not unfounded. Indeed, we agreed with Mr Arens that the problems of a settlement in the Near East require a stepping up of our contacts. Following the PLO's decisions at the session of the Palestine National Council and Yasir 'Arafat's UN speech, I believe there could be a dialogue between the Palestinians and the United States. With a view to our principal goal, namely, a settlement in the Near East, I also believe that Soviet-Israeli contacts could prove useful—very useful, in fact.

[Interviewer] The Americans have made the gesture of agreeing to establish a dialogue with the PLO. Can the other major power, the Soviet Union, not also make a gesture and restore relations with Israel?

[Shevardnadze] Everything starts with contacts, and that says a great deal.

[Interviewer] In his UN speech, Mikhail Gorbachev announced a unilateral program of military reductions. Apart from the figures he cited, can you provide any information about demobilizations and the withdrawal of materiel? In particular, how will the 500,000 men be chosen, and which tanks, guns, and aircraft will be affected? Will the West be able to verify the implementation of these measures? Is their impact not necessarily limited as long as the current rate of production of military equipment continues? Do you expect a Western offset in response to your unilateral move?

[Shevardnadze] We are about to complete the formulation of the specific program of reductions announced by Mr Gorbachev. We are also setting a timetable for the withdrawal from the territories of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary of six armored divisions and a number of major units, including airborne units, having offensive tasks.

These reductions will also be achieved through both the disbandment and the reorganization of a number of major units. All this will involve the demobilization of some military personnel and therefore the reduction of a certain amount of armaments.

The level of strength thus attained will not be increased again. On the contrary, it will be a matter of employing some of the military equipment withdrawn in the

national economy: diesel engines, for instance. All the troop and weapons reduction measures will take place openly. This presupposes the presence of foreign observers, including journalists.

These unilateral measures constitute a major step toward rebuilding our Armed Forces on the basis of a "reasonable sufficiency," that is, the resources necessary for defense. We set no conditions on these unilateral reductions, which we are carrying out outside the context of future talks on conventional weapons reductions. Nevertheless we will welcome the West's confirmation of its desire to help strengthen security in Europe through concrete measures.

[Interviewer] With a view to the coming Vienna conference on conventional weapons, the Warsaw Pact says there is an "overall approximate balance" between the two alliances. The figures published by NATO a month ago indicate a vast Eastern bloc superiority. What are the figures in the analysis of Moscow and its allies? Will you publish a similar study?

[Shevardnadze] It is not a matter of what we say: The "approximate parity" really exists. This is proved by the fact that for decades the military contraposition in Europe has remained at more or less the same level. If the East's advantage were as great as the West says, how could Western politicians have accepted it?

The fact is that neither side has enjoyed in the past—or enjoys now—a decisive military superiority. Of course imbalances exist, but they cannot change the overall balance of forces, their approximate parity.

[Interviewer] But what about the figures?

[Shevardnadze] Let's look at the statistics. Almost a year ago, the Warsaw Pact suggested to NATO exchanging figures regarding troops and conventional arms in Europe. But NATO has still not accepted this proposal. The Atlantic alliance preferred to publish unilaterally its own estimates, which were based on a selective approach.

Our own figures for the strength of the Warsaw Pact and estimates of NATO's forces in Europe will be published. The prospect of the opening of European talks on disarmament in the first half of March is now emerging. We must all prepare for them. In particular, we must work vigorously for the convening of a European conference at the highest level in which all the states that signed the Helsinki Final Act would participate. Another goal is the creation of a European center for reducing the risk of war.

[Interviewer] The resignation of Marshal Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff, and several articles in your press suggest that the Soviet military by no means appreciates the decision to carry out a unilateral reduction. What exactly is the situation?

[Shevardnadze] There is no need to look for reasons for Marshal Akhromeyev's retirement other than that officially announced. The marshal asked to be relieved of his duties as chief of the General Staff on health grounds. He has been given very high-level responsibilities in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

I can state most clearly: In the military sphere, the new principles are accepted not only by the overwhelming majority of our people, but also by the leadership and personnel of our Armed Forces.

However, one must be realistic and aware that this restructuring affects the future of thousands of people who have linked their lives with the Armed Forces. Obviously it is not easy for them to change their way of life.

So certain subjective nuances in the assessments prompted by the new doctrine are natural. They are attributable to the concern that people may feel about their future. We want to eliminate these fears so that the military personnel affected by the demobilization measures suffer no social, material, or moral harm.

[Interviewer] The SNF short-range missiles are not covered by any disarmament negotiations. What is the Soviet position?

[Shevardnadze] I am frankly astonished to hear the question couched in these terms. The program for a transition to a nuclear-free world that Mr Gorbachev defined in his 15 January 1986 statement also envisages the elimination of this class of nuclear arms. With regard to the mandate for the talks on disarmament in Europe, this issue is the subject of fierce debate. From the outset at the Vienna consultations the USSR has advocated that tactical nuclear weapons, including, of course, my [as published] missiles with a range below 500 km, be included in the mandate of the discussions on reducing conventional arms in Europe. But the NATO countries categorically opposed this. Consequently, a formula has been hammered out in Vienna whereby tactical nuclear systems are excluded from these talks. On the other hand, dual-purpose—nuclear or conventional—systems will remain affected.

I would like to stress that the Soviet Union wants an agreement on priority reductions in tactical nuclear arms. Indeed, it is absolutely obvious that the retention of such systems would not allow the two military alliances to limit themselves to an exclusively defensive posture. Once again, I think the West should review its approach to the problem. It is clear that a sizeable reduction in conventional arms can only substantially lower the mutual risk of a surprise attack. Basically, the very reason for keeping tactical nuclear arms in the NATO and Warsaw Pact arsenals would then be eliminated.

[Interviewer] With regard to the CSCE mandate, even on Monday Greece was stonewalling and refusing to allow a strip of Turkish territory to be exempted from the negotiation zone. Despite everything, can the Vienna conference be concluded by the planned dates of 17-19 January?

[Shevardnadze] The situation is very worrying. We had the impression that all the major problems had been settled, and that was why we set those dates. Indeed, you know, everything might become more difficult after 20 January, with the arrival of a new U.S. Administration. The Greek minister, whom I have just seen, promised me he would consult his government and that it would try to find a solution. Perhaps things will be settled tomorrow or the next day.

More generally, I nevertheless have to be critical. The fault is NATO's, for it is certainly a matter of a NATO problem. We had certainly accepted a compromise with Turkey on the issue of the negotiation zone.

[Interviewer] With regard to the human rights conference that the USSR wants to hold in Moscow in 1991, what assurances can you give to the most reluctant of the Western countries? In particular, what is the situation regarding the reform of the penal code, and what guarantees are there of the irreversibility of the releases of political prisoners or of policy on emigration?

[Shevardnadze] In my view, the problem is settled. The holding of a conference on humanitarian problems in Moscow is tangible proof of our new approach in favor of international cooperation in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian problems in general.

The essential guarantee of the irreversibility of this development is the firm resolve of the country's leaders and of all Soviet society to carry this process through to its logical conclusion. As for the reform of the penal code, we have already published the draft fundamentals of USSR penal legislation. The draft will be submitted for examination by our parliament, the Supreme Soviet.

[Interviewer] With the change of administration in the United States, the Geneva negotiations have been broken off. What measures to revive them do you envisage, particularly with regard to solving the problem posed by SDI, Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars"?

[Shevardnadze] Your description, "talks have been broken off," is not altogether accurate. It would be more correct to say that a recess in their work has been announced. We hope that the recess will be of short duration and that the delegations will soon return to Geneva to resume negotiations about a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms. Unfortunately, the elaboration of the agreement has been retarded by the United States, which instead of strengthening the treaty on the limitation of ABM systems—the very foundation of strategic stability—has proposed placing weapons in space. We hope that the new U.S. Administration, that of President Bush, will correct this position. Otherwise it will take us a long time to reach an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in our strategic arms. So it is too soon to speak of new initiatives by the Soviet Union. The ball is in the Americans' court.

[Interviewer] The 15 February completion date for the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is drawing close. Will the Geneva pledge be kept? Is it also true that Kabul is considering introducing a new political party to replace the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], the existing communist movement? What will happen to Afghan President Najibullah?

[Shevardnadze] We are working on the principle that all treaties and all agreements must be implemented, as Mikhail Gorbachev said at the United Nations. Of course this still applies to the pledges made in Geneva on Afghanistan. I am now coming to the PDPA. It is still the biggest and best organized political force in Afghanistan. That party drew up and directed the national reconciliation policy. There is no other party in Afghanistan capable of pursuing this peaceful line with the perseverance and determination which correspond to the aspirations of the whole Afghan people. In our view, this is the decisive factor with regard to the place and role in Afghan society of the PDPA and its leader Najibullah. There is no doubt that all questions relating to the possible creation of new parties must be decided by the Afghans themselves.

[Interviewer] What results have the contacts between the USSR and the resistance produced?

[Shevardnadze] I would first like to emphasize the fact that contacts with the opposition only started recently. It would therefore be naive to expect practical results immediately. In our view, the important thing is that we have started the joint search for political rather than military solutions. We hope that this dialogue with the opposition, which we have started at the Kabul government's request, will enable all Afghans to sit down at the same negotiating table. We cannot and will not solve Afghanistan's internal problems.

[Interviewer] When do you expect the Soviet-Chinese summit to take place? What results do you expect from it?

[Shevardnadze] We have agreed in principle to hold such a meeting. It will take place in the first half of 1989. Last December, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited Moscow. I will return that visit by going to Beijing in early February. We attach great importance to the normalization of relations with China, our big neighbor. We hope that we will be able to draw a veil over the long period during which relations between the two biggest socialist countries were far from normal and sometimes degenerated into confrontation.

[Interviewer] With regard to relations with Japan, the problem of the Kurile Islands, the four small islands occupied by the USSR after the war, still seems to be in deadlock. Is a unilateral gesture from Moscow possible?

[Shevardnadze] There is no "Kurile Islands problem." What is at stake is the possibility of concluding a peace treaty. Preliminary talks have already taken place on this subject, particularly between our two countries' foreign ministers. Japanese Foreign Minister Uno and I have agreed to set up a permanent working group at the level of our respective deputy ministers. This group has the job of continuing discussions to achieve progress in the ministerial talks aimed at concluding the peace treaty.

[Interviewer] In the "European home" envisaged by the USSR, your government gives the impression of reserving a bigger apartment for Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl than for Francois Mitterrand. Are these real preferences and, if so, what is the reason for them?

[Shevardnadze] The Soviet Union certainly has no intention of assuming the right to distribute apartments in the "European home." We are prepared to develop our relations with all countries to the extent that each of them is prepared to do so. To build the common European home, I am sure that the various participants in Europe will need great maturity, a capacity for innovation, and even boldness. With regard to Soviet-French relations, we must take account of France's role not only in European affairs but also in world politics. We think that the sustained development of Soviet-French relations is a fundamental and inalienable element in European building. Recently an identical approach to our two countries' foreign policy priorities has emerged. This development shows the existence of great potential in Soviet-French dialogue. We hope Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to France will place our relations on an even higher level of mutual understanding.

[Interviewer] Soviet diplomacy has changed a great deal: It has freed itself from ideology. Since the speech you made in July, the USSR seems to have abandoned the concept of the class struggle in its view of foreign policy. Is that true?

[Shevardnadze] The class struggle is an internal problem for each people and each state. When ideological factors interfere in international relations and sometimes gain the upper hand, mankind's common ideals are relegated to second place. However, our new political thinking proclaims freedom of choice. Each people chooses the system which suits it best, the system which corresponds to its development and maturity.

Shevardnadze Comments on Gorbachev UN Speech

PM1101151089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 52, 25 Dec 88 pp 1, 8-9

[Interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Yuriy Bandura: "What Worries Soviet Diplomats"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A few days ago, a meeting of activists of the Soviet Union's diplomatic department was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. About 800 of its participants discussed the practical tasks of the Foreign Ministry's staff in realizing the ideas and proposals contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN on December 7. A report at the meeting was made by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. On the eve of his departure on an official visit to Japan, he received on "MN" correspondent and answered his questions.

Question: As far as I understand, this meeting of ranking Soviet diplomats was a strictly professional and narrowly departmental gathering. On the other hand, our society keeps changing and the Soviet Union's foreign policy undergoes rapid, striking change. Glasnost is becoming one of the most salient hallmarks of Soviet diplomacy, which only a few years ago was seen by the public as a tightly guarded safe with secrets. Maybe for this reason it will not be so inappropriate to hazard a request that you open the door into the hall in Smolenskaya-Sennaya and let us listen to what worries our diplomats today, what alarms them and evokes their concern.

Answer: If I say that we have no secrets whatsoever, you will not believe. This is probably unavoidable as long as diplomacy exists. I say "probably" because openness in state-to-state relations has not only increased sharply today, it has also become a peculiar and—let me add—highly effective instrument of international communication, probably also because the time of lone wise men is passing and the epoch of peoples' wisdom is setting in. If you come to think of it, it is to this epoch that Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN, which we discussed at the meeting of our activists, was addressed.

Question: How is this event evaluated at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Answer: I relate it to events bringing a profoundly revolutionizing impact to bear upon the march of history. The address by the head of the Soviet state to the United Nations, completing perhaps the most encouraging and productive year of its history, became an event for the UN in the full sense of this term, reaffirming the recognition of the effectiveness of this forum of peoples and shedding light on new, so far unused reserves in building up its potential.

This address also became an event for the entire world community, which found in it the replies proposed by the Soviet Union to many of the priority issues of our day. The developing world heard about the USSR's approaches to the problems of development and the elimination of foreign debt, hunger and poverty. Europe and Asia received a unique credit of confidence from Moscow—hitherto unknown in the practice of international relations—in the shape of the Soviet Union's unilateral measures aimed at reducing armed forces and armaments. The world as a whole has been notified of our country's desire to head for transition everywhere, from the economy of armaments to an economy of disarmament, for putting the conversion onto a practical footing. The regions in which conflicts or near-conflicts have been and remain a tragic day-to-day reality (although the situation in this sphere is clearly changing for the better), have heard proposals for new possible solutions and obtained guide-posts pointing to ways out of many impasse situations.

Familiarizing myself with the foreign press and diplomatic mail, I again and again find in them corroborations to the conclusion; hardly a single sphere of humankind's modern existence—from the organization of world economic relations to building the mechanism of ecological safety—was left out in Mikhail Gorbachev's address. Each of the main aspects in the life of the community of nations was examined on a new level of the philosophic-conceptual understanding of reality.

Question: The speech at the UN was addressed to the international community. But, hence, also to our country. What do you think is the significance of this event for the Soviet Union, or, in more specific terms—for perestroyka?

Answer: I am convinced that the words, uttered within the walls of the UN, contain a powerful impulse for our society as well. Because the speech announced—for the first time in many respects—the new high standards of democracy, the functioning of our political system, the administration of justice and human rights. In this way perestroyka has received a new charge of intellectual and political energy.

I would call this speech a stage-making policy statement for us workers in the diplomatic sphere as well, because, from the depths of its philosophical content addressed to the future there arise before us now the object-practical reference points for both long-term foreign policy strategy and humdrum, at first glance, diplomatic tactics.

Question: This, I believe, is what was discussed at the meeting of activists. You mentioned practical reference points. Where, specifically, do you see them?

Answer: First and foremost, in the fact that the speech formulated the principles of new international relations at the stage of humankind's transition to the third millennium. The speech signified the further and, moreover, very considerable materialization of the principles of new political thinking.

By putting on record the new, previously unstudied realities and factors in the existence of the whole of humankind, the Soviet leader suggested the means and methods for solving global problems that are adequate to them. Moreover, this convincingly certified anew our allegiance to the priority of universal human values, the freedom of choice, and the internationalization of negotiations on the key problems of contemporaneity.

The announcement of our readiness, following the signing of the INF Treaty, unilaterally to reduce armed forces and armaments amounted to a new breakthrough in the disarmament sphere.

This objectively impelled the West and NATO to start moving from the opposite direction and to look for their own alternative initiatives which would be consistent not only with our diplomatic activity but also with the state of affairs in the world. Those circles in the West which see in our perestroyka a unique possibility for switching funds and resources over from East-West confrontation to the development of trade, the economy and the entire social infrastructure of states and peoples have gained greater confidence thanks to our proposals.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that we are already in duty bound to translate all the propositions of the UN speech into the language of practice. The task, I must admit, is by far not as simple as it looks.

We have, for example, a neglected vice which emerged already when the gap between words and deeds was very wide and when no attempts were made to narrow it. This vice is the serene attitude of "practitioners" towards statements at the highest level: Statements are statements, they believe, but the fulfilment of what was announced depends on how it works.... Getting rid of this "manner of inaction" is a difficult process. And now and again it happens that, as soon as a political decision adopted by the country's leadership is "submitted" to a different—executive—level, it starts immediately to skid.

For instance, the need was announced to bring internal legislation in line with international laws. A political decision exists and it has to be translated into life. It is doubtless that a considerable amount of work has been done, but only part of the road has been traversed. Quite often, counteraction is also felt on this road.

Another example: Two years have passed since we announced our readiness to make public our military budget. The set deadlines are coming to a close. We should have informed people of what has already been done in this field and what is still to be done. By saying "we" I mean workers in the diplomatic sphere. After all, it is the Foreign Ministry that is responsible for the practical fulfilment of statements by the country's top leadership in the foreign policy field. This was also spoken about at our meeting: Each Foreign Ministry

official should understand that no one is allowed to back away from the guidelines proclaimed at the highest state and political level and each should deal with their translation into life.

And one more thing: Our allies, partners and opponents have started without delay to switch the philosophic-conceptual content of the speech onto a practical plane. They have already asked many serious questions. It would be a dangerous delusion to believe that all the answers have already been given. The more so that a number of formulas in the speech are equally applicable to us and to our partners in global dialogue.

Such, for example, is the equation of genuine progress which cannot be achieved at the expense of human and national rights and freedoms. Such is also the conclusion on the need for parallel motion in national development and worldwide process, their rapprochement and mutual enrichment.

We ourselves will have to ponder much in order to ensure organic unity between the philosophy and practice of the new political thinking. Thus, the warning about the danger of outside interference in the internal processes of other countries with the aim of adjusting them to alien ways has the most practical character. Diplomats acting in the practical field will also have to draw much for themselves from the provision—formulated for the first time, perhaps—on differences, which, in the past, often served as factors of alienation, but which are now turning into factors of mutual attraction.

It will be necessary to formalize in the code of professional conduct for diplomats, and to secure in practice, such norms as the renunciation of force and the threat of force as an instrument of foreign policy, as respect for the positions and views of the governments and peoples of other countries.

We shall have once and for all—or rather, until life points to other obvious things—to recognize and accept the truth that, in our days, reliance solely or predominantly on military force, far from strengthening, ultimately weakens national security.

Question: The tasks are sweeping. So sweeping that it will probably not be simple to convert them to the prosaic, everyday dimension, so to speak. What do you think should be done first at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Answer: The value and effectiveness of the Soviet initiatives will be the greater the quicker they are switched over to the stage of practical realization. But not everything is in order, as far as we are concerned, regarding the timeliness of actions.

In this context I am particularly worried by the absence, until now, of a well-adjusted mechanism for the realization of proposed ideas, which would extend not to separate units and sectors, but to all ministerial structures and bring the technology of different units into a single chain. Here, I mean both our ministry and the related government departments.

If we are to speak about our own diplomatic state of affairs it is important to organize and unfold in-depth work on the philosophical aspects of our vision of the state of the world and the course of the historical processes. This is by no means an abstract task. After all, in politics it is immensely important to have a clear idea of what exactly is included in the notion of "the crucial character of the current stage in history"—a stage "where progress will be based on the common interests of the whole of humankind" whereas "humankind's common values should be the priority determining world politics."

There is also a need, of course, for in-depth work on the modern interpretation of notions which are relatively new for us—"the common interests of the whole of humankind," "humankind's common values." Our possibilities alone are not enough to complete this work. There will be a need for cooperation with the forces of top-level science, with its entire school of social sciences. Naturally, this work will be carried out in liaison with the commissions and departments of the CPSU Central Committee, with all government departments which are in one way or another involved in the pursuit of foreign policy.

It is important, moreover, to remember the socialist component of humankind's common values being actively included in the spiritual, moral heritage of terrestrial civilization and moulded for coming generations. Here we have something to be proud of, without being arrogant; our socialist state is not an anomaly of history, not a hanger-on of civilization, but its equal and vigorous co-creator. Capable not only of accepting humankind's common values, but also of adding its ideas and deeds to these values. Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN is new and vivid confirmation of this and, incidentally, has also been recognized by our opponents. I see recognition of this in the stirred state of minds in the West, concerned today over the quest for an adequate answer to the "peace challenge from the Soviets."

Question: Often, concern is also sounded abroad: "Will the Soviet Union live up to its words?"

Answer: Absolutely. Here we should rather be concerned with this: what should be done to translate ideas as soon as possible into deeds, into actions.

I shall cite a concrete example. The UN address put forward new bold proposals for the settlement of the Afghan problem. A number of international proposals were considered including that for a ceasefire beginning January 1 next year. There is a need to act without delay:

We and corresponding government departments must formulate our considerations on what could be the specific terms of the ceasefire, on what basis it could be possible to form the UN forces and send them to Afghanistan.

Or another example: In connection with the measures announced by the Soviet Union for the unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces and armaments, we are asked exactly what types of tanks will be cut—new or old? And how will it be possible to verify whether reductions have really been carried out?

These questions must be answered. And in our replies we must be honest. We must bluntly say what kinds of tanks will be destroyed and within what time limits.

Highly urgent is the question about the need to work out as quickly possible all details of coming reductions. And, I am sure, everyone will understand us correctly when we declare that the practical aspects of the reduction of armed forces call for carefully working out the question with our allies, for coordinating all the main components of the process with them: because, what is in question is their security as well.

Hence the task to work out in the shortest possible time, jointly with the Ministry of Defence of the USSR, the State Planning Committee and other government departments, detailed plans and measures for the fulfilment of all those goals announced at the UN before the whole world. The first steps toward the withdrawal of troops and armaments from the allied countries must be made in the nearest future. A detailed plan for the stage-by-stage fulfilment of our programme must be ready as early as the beginning of next year. We must work out the questions of ensuring control, say, by way of goodwill and taking account of established practice.

The economic aspects of security require close attention, which they received in the address from the UN rostrum. for the first time, in particular, it gave much prominence to the theme of conversion. In this context we shall have to think of how to enlist other states on a broader scale and more productively in the national planning of conversion, how to include this question in a more concrete way in the agenda of the UN General Assembly.

Attention must be focused on preparing specific proposals and considerations following from the understanding—voiced in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech—of the world economy as a single organism, and of civilization as an indivisible whole outside which no state can develop normally.

A new interpretation is required in this light for such a problem as the USSR's entry into the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Much here enters the framework of our internal problems—stabilizing the currency rate, going over to the convertibility of the rouble, and others. But there is also an international aspect: It will be necessary to secure support from the states participating in these influential institutions of world economic communication. It means that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must get down in real earnest to working out positions for holding consultations with these states. It will also be necessary to step up efforts to solve the question of our entry into GATT.

From this package of questions there also follows, among others, the Foreign Ministry's more or less new task of participating directly in the process of gradually bringing internal and external economic complexes closer, ultimately joining them.

Question: What priority tasks does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs see in the sphere of relationships with developing nations?

Answer: In the light of the UN address a task brooking no delay will be to prepare a specific plan of action for settling the foreign debt of the Third World. It is not possible to bypass the problem of improving our bilateral credit relations with developing nations, bringing us also to the objective of raising the returnablity of our credits.

From the positions of our day we see as unjustified our non-participation in the consultative conferences of donors to coordinate relief programmes for the least developed countries carried out under the UN aegis.

The USSR has practically taken no part in the activities of the UN Disaster Relief Office. There was a time when we even voted against strengthening the financial basis of its operations. Now tragedy has come to our home, and the office has extended a helping hand to us, offering to coordinate international efforts aimed to relieve the lot of the earthquake victims in Armenia. What else except shame can we feel today for the shortsightedness of our previous position?

Question: Recognizing a mistake represents the first step to its elimination. Is it in relationships with the office alone that such steps will have to be made?

Answer: Regrettably, neither did we favour some other spheres of activitiy in the UN framework. Such as, for instance, protecting the interests of consumers, summing up international experience in the field of formulating and applying legislation on local self-government, exploring ways of mobilizing personal and cooperative savings for the purposes of economic development, and encouraging enterprising initiative in different sectors of the economy. Well, now that all these questions have revealed their direct relation to the restructuring of the Soviet economy, there is a need to start dealing with them in real earnest and to catch up with whatever has been missed.

Much will also have to be done in a direction which is relatively new for our diplomacy—ecology. Our experience is much richer in the field of international cooperation in

the peaceful exploration of space. But all the broader then is the range of problems calling for practical solution. They include the proposal for setting up an international space laboratory or a manned orbital station for control over the state of nature, for the reequipping of the Krasnoyarsk radar.... The realization of these ideas would also be instrumental in reaching such an objective as the establishement of a world space organization.

Question: How does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs see its tasks in the humanitarian-legal field in the light of the UN address?

Answer: We consider the adoption of a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on entry and exit and the drafting of a law on religious liberty as the most urgent. It is no secret that in our practice there are still lapses regarding the observance of international agreements on human rights, although things here are clearly changing for the better, and rapidly too. To get to the end of this road, we should define our positions on joining the optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Human Rights European Convention, and set things straight with the restrictive reservations we once made on a number of agreements.

Many such reservations previously used to conceal fear of international verifying mechansims. We saw them as something jeopardizing our sovereignty, as a loophole for interference in our internal affairs. But, after all, at that time we also used the same criteria in our approach to the question of control over disarmament. Today, however we wonder why we were so timid. Yet for this radical change of sentiments to occur, there was a need to master the new mode of thinking. It was necessary to come to the conclusion that strict and full guarantees of rights and liberties are needed primarily for the whole Soviet people, for every Soviet man and woman, for our perestroyka.

Advancing along these lines, we will be able, in the first half of next year, to carry out fundamental work in studying the international standards and guarantees of human rights envisaged by corresponding conventions, and to examine the possibilities of bringing standards accepted in our country and other socialist countries closer together with them. At the same time, we will also be able to think of ways of augmenting the international scale of values in this sphere with the components born of the practice of the socialist way of life.

Question: Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the UN coincided with the fifth Soviet-American summit meeting in the past three-and-a-half years. A few words about your impressions of this meeting.

Answer: It was informal and highly productive. I believe that, for their outspokenness, for the common understanding of the need to preserve continuity and succession in relations between the USSR and the USA, the talks held on Governor's Island were no less important than official negotiations at the summit.

I would like to make special mention of the mutual understanding brought out by the meeting in respect to maintaining Soviet-American dialogue at the junctions of two administrations in a dynamic state, unpunctuated by pauses. It is also indicative that, in their talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, both Ronald Reagan and George Bush accentuated their well-wishing attitude towards Soviet perestroyka, linking its onward movement to the prospect of positive and stable relations between the USSR and the USA.

In our approach to these relations we adhere to realistic positions. On the other hand, we see the fairly influential opposition to their improvement. The more reasons, therefore, to include the New York meeting among the factors favourably influencing the state of affairs in the world.

Question: Only half a month has passed since the UN speech. Too short a time to try and look for some serious novel developments in it. And yet: Which events would you single out over the past two weeks on the world scene as deserving new and profound reflections on the times?

Answer: I cannot but dwell on an event of a totally different order—tragic and sorrowful. The earthquake in Armenia is an open wound for Soviet society, the Soviet people's soul. When Mikhail Gorbachev received this news in New York he interrupted his trip in order to be with the people in the hour of tragedy, to share their adversities and help overcome them.

But it is noteworthy that our pain has become the pain of the whole world. During these tragic days the world community has taken a new look at us, seeing in the Soviet people—perhaps for the first time in the past 40-odd postwar years—not an abstract mass of people, but a brother in the destiny of the planet. And we ourselves have seen this world community in a new light. We behaved in a new way. We accepted the helping hand, thereby saying as it were: The priority of humankind's common values is not mere words, but a reality.

So it happened that a great tragedy also became the creator of a new model of international solidarity. A model by which it is already possible to guess the image of future global cooperation. In it there is a lesson about the past and a lesson for the future. A personal lesson for every one of us, diplomats included. The experience of the two weeks that have elapsed since the day of the catastrophe proves that refined professionalism is unnecessary, if not at all harmful, without the moral ideals inspiring it.

Question: Indeed, that natural calamity has revealed the resources of our humaneness—they are vast—and our ability or organize things rationally under the most extreme conditions—here, it seems, lapses could not be avoided. A recent broadcast from Yerevan on the evening news programme criticized the minister of foreign affairs. What have you to say in this connection?

Answer: The resources of humaneness are truly inexhaustible, its specific manifestations fill our souls with pride for our people, for the country's leadship, for the way our tragedy has been taken by the world community.

But, on the other hand, a disaster of this magnitude and with such consequences has put us to a severe test and also revealed the definite unpreparedness for clockwork performance in these difficult conditions. Nor is the diplomatic service any exception.

Personally, I consider it below my dignity to publicly reprimand anyone, to demonstratively point a finger at concrete persons who have been unable to live up to the immensity of the adversities that have fallen to the lot.

I can say one thing quite categorically: The conscience of our diplomats is clean. All embassies of the USSR and the central apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have done and are doing the maximum.

Still in New York, when a political decision was taken on this score, we joined in organizing foreign aid to Armenia without waiting for instructions. After all, the first proposals of aid were received through diplomatic channels and we did not close them, as happened more than once in the past. Incidentally, this was so unexpected for our foreign colleagues that they, accustomed to our traditional non-acceptance of any such moves from without, started thanking us.

But now is the time to count what has been done, the losses, the friends who have come to our assistance, and not past services and undeserved reproaches.

Without turning away from the tragedy, we look straight in the eyes of our Armenian brothers, our country and the world community.

NATO Response to Gorbachev Speech Criticized

PM1201143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Vitaliy Korionov: "No Answer So Far. In the Grip of Conventional Ideas"]

[Text] Recently the West German weekly DIE ZEIT, recalling that Japanese soldiers were still emerging from the jungles of tropical islands in the Pacific many years after the end of World War II, not realizing that the war had ended, stated: "Certain Western statesmen and generals of our time remind one of these 'island waifs.' They are still struggling through the jungles of their fixed ideas and will not see that the days of the cold war are past." In conclusion, the weekly noted: "It is always a bad thing to overdo it in politics. But it is much worse to be blind to obvious opportunities that present themselves to us."

The public on both sides of the Atlantic is right to emphasize the fact that never before has mankind been faced with such favorable prospects for beginning a new chapter in international relations. The Soviet Union's crucial peace initiatives, put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, have created a fundamentally different qualitative atmosphere for the implementation of tasks that have hitherto not yielded to a solution. The new political thinking establishing itself in the world is already turning into new political actions which are bearing fruit for the first time. A living example of this is the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is now a reality.

The peoples have a right to expect further practical actions. In this connection they look to the main military-political groupings of our time—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In actual fact, it is difficult to talk about the stability and predictability of the military-political situation in Europe, and, indeed, in the world as a whole, as long as these groupings' armies stand face to face in the cramped area of Europe, directing aerial and tank battering rams at one another.

The Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe have been at a standstill for many years. Only very recently have there been signs that the elaboration of the talks' mandate is apparently reaching a conclusion. But as soon as this prospect began to glimmer on the horizon, typical reports began to appear in the Atlantic press.

"The new Soviet initiatives," the West German paper RHEINISCHE POST noted, "were a call to NATO to shake off its lethargy and stop its monotonous repetition of claims that the Warsaw Pact countries possess a military potential that considerably exceeds defense requirements." And what about the alliance? The British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT answers the question as follows: "As a result of Mikhail Gorbachev's UN address, the West's view of world politics is obsolete. When NATO made a pronouncement the morning after Gorbachev's triumphant speech, the contrast was stark and painful. Apparently NATO has nothing constructive to say."

The December session of the NATO Council, which met in Brussels at foreign minister level, could not avoid paying special attention to the speech by the Soviet head of state. On this occasion no one dared call the Soviet initiatives propaganda. It was asserted that the new Soviet proposals were a "step in the right direction." Then one heard the old song about the Soviet Union's intentions to effect a major reduction in its armed forces and armaments being "inadequate," since even then the notorious "asymmetry" between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the conventional arms sphere would remain.

The Atlanticists are still pretending that the detailed proposals by the Warsaw Pact countries, elaborated at the Political Consultative Committee conferences in Budapest, Berlin, and Warsaw, on a stage-by-stage

mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments to the level at which neither side would have the physical potential to carry out an attack, never existed and that there never was an appeal to bring the structure of NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces and their equipment and disposition (dislokatsiya) into line with defensive tasks and to strictly monitor the reduction of armed forces and armaments.

Instead of a businesslike consideration of Warsaw Pact proposals we get the usual statements about the "superarmament" of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact as a whole and particularly about "tank asymmetry." So much has already been written about this in the press that it is rather embarrassing to repeat it. Clearly, however, it is nonetheless necessary to say a few words about it.

There is indeed asymmetry is some types of armaments. Experts calculated the main asymmetries in 1988 as follows: tactical strike aircraft and combat helicopters—approximately 1.5:1 in NATO's favor; tanks—of the order of 2:1 in the Warsaw Pact's favor. A new asymmetry in NATO's favor and to the detriment of the Warsaw Pact occurred as a result of the appearance of sea- and air-launched cruise missiles in U.S. arsenals.

Typical in this connection was a document published in the United States at the end of last year. It is the report "NATO—Warsaw Pact. The Conventional Balance," prepared by the General Accounting Office, the Congressional Research Service, and the Office of Technology Assessment, analyzing the combat potential of the armed forces of NATO and Warsaw Pact states. Around 40 U.S. experts worked on its compilation. It contains the conclusion that in Europe at present "neither side possesses an advantage that would guarantee victory." It formulates the thesis that Warsaw Pact armed forces in forward positions and existing reserves are inadequate for the purpose of launching a surprise attack. Moreover, the report's authors reckon that Warsaw Pact armed forces would not be able to achieve a significant advantage over NATO in the process of short- or medium-term preparation for an offensive either. That is what the "Soviet military threat" myth looks like even in light of U.S. analysts' research.

Peace in conditions of military confrontation cannot be considered sound, of course. There must be a breakthrough in the sphere of reducing conventional armaments, as exemplified by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Here too the Soviet Union has put forward an initiative. Since West Europeans' fears are fueled by tank-phobia, the USSR announced that the number of tanks would be unilaterally cut by 10,000 over the next 2 years in the European part of our country and on the territory of our European allies. And in the course of further talks one could go further along this path until the dangerous anachronism of groupings of thousands of tanks confronting one another is eliminated. It is not armaments in "bulk," but reasonable sufficiency for defense that ensures states' genuine security in our time.

By no means everyone goes along with this. Late last year in Washington there was an international symposium on the upcoming 40th anniversary of NATO. U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci made a "program" speech at it. It consisted mainly of appeals to U.S. NATO allies to strengthen the bloc's military machine, to build up and modernize armaments, and increase military expenditure in order to "counter the Soviet threat." The U.S. defense secretary's pronouncements reflected the anxiety of certain circles in the United States in connection with the developing desire in Europe to expand political and economic cooperation between states with different political systems and the fear of a favorable reaction in West European countries to the Soviet proposal on building a "common European home." The Pentagon chief saw "the Kremlin's tempting proposals on the reduction of armaments" as particularly dangerous. He claimed that the Soviet Union's main aim in fact is "still a desire to bring about the collapse of NATO and make the Western countries relax their defense effort."

The Pentagon chief is not alone in thinking this. NATO Secretary General M. Woerner went further. In an interview for BILD AM SONNTAG he even claimed that without NATO's militarist policy, "there would be no glasnost and restructuring in the Soviet Union"(!).

The program put forward by the Soviet leader in his address to the UN General Assembly formulates the direction and content of interstate and all international relations in the transition to the third millennium.

The Warsaw Pact states are extending an honest hand to the NATO countries. The 40-year existence of the North Atlantic alliance has sufficiently demonstrated that a genuine solution of questions of vital importance to the peoples cannot be found on the road of distrust, let alone enmity and the arms race. Is it not time, on the threshold of the 40th anniversary of NATO, to open up a new chapter in the alliance' policy?

Petrovskiy Interviewed on New World Order

AU1101141589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, by NOVOSTI observer Vladimir Markov "especially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT": "With the New Thinking Toward a New World Order"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In 1989 Moscow intends to develop its new approach toward work at the United Nations and to elaborate the premises put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in New York on increasing the role of this organization as a unique center for guaranteeing universal and regional security. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy stated this in an interview given to NOVOSTI observer Vladimir Markov.

[Markov] Bearing in mind your diplomatic and scientific experience, how would you describe the process of renewing the USSR's international policies, and how would you define the view of the world held at present by Soviet diplomats?

[Petrovskiy] I have been pursuing a diplomatic career since 1957, and have been engaged in academic work during these past 30 years. If we attempt to analyze contemporary international relations over the foreseeable future, we may note that they are entering a qualitatively new stage. Civilization is entering a period that political specialists call a "positive world." The preceding decades were marked by an absence of wars, but also by the maintenance of confrontation with a minimum degree of cooperation. However, at the same time the process of building an interdependent and integral world has been gaining strength, in which the accent is being shifted toward cooperation, both between individual countries and within the framework of the entire world community. The polarization of the world, which is daily becoming more multifaceted, must be replaced by a consolidation of the world, while the competition between two different systems will proceed in nonconfrontational forms.

Naturally the new "positive world," like any new phenomenon, grew to maturity within the depths of the old relations, and the laws of dialectics applied: The accumulation of ideas led to a qualitatively new leap forward. Our country, which by virtue of its social nature is open to processes of renewal, became the proponent of these new ideas.

We assimilated ideas that were born long ago, not only within our country, but also beyond its borders. Academician Vladimir Vernadskiy spoke in the twenties about the growing unity of the world, when he propounded the concept of the neosphere. The poetry of Andrey Beliy and Velimir Khlebnikov, for example, is close to his ideas. During the fifties, Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell published the famous manifesto on the need for us to learn, think, and act in a new way in the nuclear age. The members of the Pugwash movement also dedicated themselves to developing these ideas.

I would say that the subjective factor and the changes carried out in our country in April 1985 played an important role. At that time, people realized that it was necessary to free ourselves from ideological prejudices and to see the world as it is, in all its variegated colors. This was an insight that had been prepared for by all the previous experience.

[Markov] Not everyone, however, accepts the USSR's new policy in the international arena in the same way. People sometimes say that Moscow is deviating from Marxism-Leninism.

[Petrovskiy] In my view, the new thinking now being applied in our country represents a higher development of Marxism-Leninism because surely, first of all, it presupposes a dialectical, not a dogmatic perception of the world, in all its unity and contradiction. It would hardly be correct, from the Marxist viewpoint, to perceive the world solely through the prism of antagonism, as was the case in the past. We have frequently forgotten the other, more important aspect, namely the unity within whose framework the struggle of the opposites is taking place. In general, it is difficult to create a many-sided, stereoscopic image of pictures that convey reality in the most complete way. This was the case in the past, in history, political thought, and art.

[Markov] Nonetheless, the distrust that is sometimes shown toward Soviet restructuring, including the sphere of foreign policy, is nourished by previous experience, when there was a discrepancy between words and deeds. What would you say on this issue?

[Petrovskiy] We must acknowledge that the ideas—good to begin with—put forward by our country in the past were very often not supported by deeds. It is not easy to cure such a long-lasting disease.

For example, 2 years ago the Soviet Union declared its readiness to publish its military budget. However, certain departments connected to this issue are displaying a certain inertia. As a result of this, so far the public has not received the promised information.

In order to prevent a repetition of this, we must strictly observe the rule that no one has a right to deviate from the postulates approved at the highest political and state levels. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR is now giving priority importance to the task of commencing, as soon as possible, to specifically implement the premises contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations.

[Markov] To what aspects of cooperation with the United Nations will the Soviet Union give primary attention in the new year?

[Petrovskiy] We intend, with all the means at our disposal, to promote a revival of the United Nations as a center for settling international conflicts through combined forces. It is noteworthy that the program for the creation of a nuclear-free world of 15 January 1986 and Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees for a Secure World" of 17 September 1987, which sets out the basic Soviet approach toward the work of the United Nations, have lastingly entered the UN political dictionary. The ideas contained in these documents, which were elaborated in the Soviet leader's speech in New York, have led to a perceptible stimulation of UN activity, and to the appearance of a so-called "new internationalism" among its members.

During the coming year, the Soviet Union will also declare its support for further strengthening the authority and expanding the functions of the UN secretary general, and for closer cooperation between UN members. The Soviet Union is also ready to give increasing support to UN peace-keeping operations, and this includes provision of material and other means, training officers for UN forces, and taking part in their actions. In addition, we will expand our participation in mechanisms for monitoring human rights under the United Nations, based on recognition of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice at The Hague as being binding on all states.

At the sessions of UN organs in 1989, we would like to submit for examination our proposals for creating a model for security that can be realized not at the cost of increasing armaments, as was always the case in the past, but through reducing arms and strengthening confidence, openness, and cooperation in all spheres of international life.

Consular Conference Discusses Needed Changes

PM1101170689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 8 Jan 89 p 6

[Yuriy Bandura report: "Welcome to the Soviet Consulate. Notes From a Conference for Foreign Ministry Consulate Members"]

[Text] What is the Soviet consular service today? It is:

194 consular offices abroad, including 72 general and ordinary consulates;
800 diplomats and hundreds of auxiliary staff;
1,500,000 passports and 400,000 foreign visas issued annually.

Impressive, isn't it? And here's what it means in terms of quality.

According to Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: "The staffing problem is greatest for the consular service because historically its officers have been selected based on the so-called 'residual' principle, in some instances the service resembled a settling bin, a brig of sorts."

As a result of his attitude:

Nearly half the staff in Soviet consulates have no professional training;

18 per cent of the staff members don't speak the language of the country they are stationed in.

Shevardnadze: "What do these figures indicate? They indicate a total diregard for the human factor, the human dimension. This service which deals first and foremost with people mainly in need of professional protection of their interests in difficult situations abroad has been dehumanized as regards its internal structures and its outward workings."

A passport, a visa, consular dues.... How on earth can these be humanized? They can't if one thinks the functions of the consular services end there. But then there may arise a situation similar to that in the Mongolian People's Republic.

In Mongolia at the moment there are four Soviet general consulates and a consular office at the embassy. One of these institutions' vital functions is to help 50,000 Soviet citizens working there. In all sorts of ways. But out of the five heads of these consular institutions, only two have experience in consular service. Of the five staffers at the general consulate in Erdenet, none has any previous consular experience. A passport, a visa, consular dues. Everything else comes from the devil knows where. Everything else includes increasing serious violations of local laws, criminal offences, and Mongolian reaction.

The situation may not be typical but it exists. The consular conference noted that bungling consular officials had caused months-long delays in considering requests for Soviet citizenship, for permanent residence in the Soviet Union, for registry or notary matters.

Each such case affects people. Each case, however insignificant, is a brake on "humanizing international relations"—a task formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev two years ago at the International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, for Survival of Humanity, held in Moscow.

Will those who used to simply issue passports and visas or collect dues rise to this great responsibility dictated by the new thinking?

Shevardnadze: "Over the years the idea formed in this country of a consular officer was that of a pen-pusher, a bureaucrat. In the modern context a consular officer is a political figure. A political and public figure. First and foremost, the fundamental principles of consular activities should be brought into line with the fundamental principles of the new political thinking and the foreign relations priorities detailed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly."

The old standards are incompatible with the new requirements. This showed in the actions of Soviet consular officers in Israel when a group of terrorists sought refuge from retribution there. This also showed in the unprecedented waving of rigid instructions by Soviet consular services in providing international aid for Armenia.

Shevardnadze: "But these are events of international importance and scale. Every day there are extreme situations involving only one person or several persons: It is here that our incompetence shows."

Is this an overstatement? The question sounds tactless given that the conference did discuss flaws in the consular service in order to make a fresh start dictated by the needs of restructuring the Foreign Ministry, the country and the world.

Shevardnadze: "Discussions about a greater role for local Soviets are in their second year. In May 1989, the local governments will begin functioning as their own masters. Much here is being done clumsily, without reliance on experience elsewhere. And there is a wealth of experience.

"It is extremely important to know about relations between the local and central authorities; about the financial sources for social welfare in a province, state or district; about how local taxes are levied; about the rights of local governments vis-a-vis industry; about local policies in ecology, economic development and attracting foreign capital.

"Who if not a consulate, a consular office, is to tackle this huge body of problems of extreme importance for us?"

This is an unexpected field of activity, as I see it, for consular staffers who are now supposed to increase their professional competence and compensate for our inadequate knowledge of realities abroad—our inadequacy created by our social sciences. Not only production should be run on a competitive basis.

Economic activities also come to the fore.

Shevardnadze: "There should be a switch from the sometimes passive watching of our foreign economic relations to active participation in the process.

"Our consular services should be given a free hand in working with delegations, ministry representatives, departments and organizations. You are supposed to help them contact local business, to give them legal and other help.

"A new approach could be to offer services to foreign companies, firms and business people like those being offered by the consular office of the USSR Embassy in Sweden."

Wouldn't thus consular service pay less attention to individuals seeking international contacts? On the contrary, the new concept of consular service provides for more attention to private individuals for the first time perhaps in the 70 years of the service's existence.

Some 150,000 Soviet citizens are permanent residents in foreign countries. These Soviet citizens are entitled to the same rights as those who live in the USSR. But they don't always enjoy those rights. "Unfortunately we continue to be treated by Soviet officials as if we weren't fellow countrymen but traitors," writes a Soviet woman married to a citizen of the GDR. "Any petty official considers it his duty to show his scorn and humiliate us women. Thus it is especially painful to hear our consul-general calling us patriots in one breath and in the next (when asked why he makes it difficult for us to visit our relations in the Soviet Union) saying, 'It's hard to keep an eye on everyone.' I'm forced to ask my mother to live in the GDR because this is simpler than seeking permission for my family to go and visit her."

Shevardnadze: "To think of a Soviet citizen being obliged to try and secure the right to visit her own country!

"The problem of humanizing the consular service is looming large before us. Callousness, formalism and the tall fence between the individual and the consular services are inadmissible. This is the area where one can be a maximalist and we are going to be just that and recall officials who are indifferent to our citizens.

Serious concern over the material position of our citizens abroad seems to me a very important development in our moral approach to this matter.

Shevardnadze: "We should also look into setting up funds in all our consular services abroad to give material assistance to Soviet people, to allot more grants for their children who go to Soviet schools, to pay for their vacations in the USSR.

"Many of our citizens are poorly provided for and can't pay their fares to meet with their friends and relations and to go back to the countries of their residence. Perhaps we should look into permitting their relations to pay in roubles for such fares." Then there are the 20 million Soviet-born people, a diaspora, who have no Soviet citizenship. This figure is striking for its size and even more for the tragedies behind each individual who left his or her country at different times.

Shevardnadze: "They now feel attracted to their country. They show an enormous interest in perestroyka and are ready to contribute to its success.

"We know of many persons once listed as class enemies and who today do much good for our country. Consular institutions should broaden in every way this circle of our countrymen who are rediscovering their own country....

"You cannot reject someone simply because he or she left the country. Life is more complex than dogmas and such a step does not always indicate the absence of patriotic feelings. During the stagnation period some left their country, but maintained spiritual ties. Let's be merciful to such people. For them our perestroyka paves the way home."

These words recall those spoken at the UN a month ago: "The existence of any 'closed' societies is hardly possible today. That is why we need a radical revision of views on

the sum total of the problems of international cooperation as the most essential component of universal security." What link is there between universal security and emigrants? Can such a link exist at all? I think it is already there: the current change (if not a radical change) in our view of those who left the country. Doesn't it reduce the number of "sworn enemies" by 20 million (even if there might be many real enemies of the Soviet system)? Doesn't this make our society more open?

Shevardnadze: "Returning to the subject of consulate offices of the Union Republics, I can say that it should be given more attention as part of the effort to widen the rights of the union republics...."

This conclusion to Shevardnadze's keynote address can not be taken as a matter of fact. Recalling his opening admissions I realized how hard it had been to draw this conclusion and how hard it would be to carry it out in reality.

Every little bit of positive experience of perestroyka is precious, as is every bit of active contributing to it. We journalists are searching for these bits across the country. The contributions mount. I think the Foreign Ministry is adding to the stock. We heard Mikhail Gorbachev say at the UN: "A new world is emerging today, and we are to look for new ways of its development in the future. We should certainly rely on the experience we have accumulated but, at the same time, we should see the fundamental difference between what existed yesterday and what is taking place now." So the Soviet Foreign Ministry is looking for and discovering new roads to the future.

U.S., UK, France Veto Resolution on Libya

LD1201043489 Moscow TASS in English 2359 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 12 TASS—Permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, United States, Britain and France, vetoed on Wednesday a draft resolution that expressed regret over the bringing down of two Libyan reconnaissance planes by the U.S. troops and a profound concern over the aggravation of tension brought about by this action and over its negative impact on an international political climate that had been rather favourable of late. The draft resolution drawn up by the non-aligned members of the Security Council, namely, Algeria, Colombia, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, Ethiopia and Yugoslavia, urged the United States to stop military exercises outside the Libyan coast in order to promote the lessening of tension in that region.

Despite the fact that Western countries—permanent members of the Security Council disrupted the adoption of this resolution, a political result of the discussion at the Security Council of the incident in the Mediterranean is obvious: The world community strongly denounced the recurrence of state terrorism in the U.S. policy and pointed to the present-day inadmissibility of resorting to force when interfering in conflict situations. Practically all the participants in the discussion at the Security Council urged the United States to stop its aggression against Libya.

East-West Tensions in 1989 Pondered

PM1101135989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev "View of the Problem": "On the Road to a New World Order"]

[Excerpts] The first week of the new year of 1989 is over. Of course, 7 days is too short a period to forecast events for the entire 12 months ahead. But we have grounds for a quite reliable glimpse of the future and an idea of how development in the world arena will occur and in what direction. [passage omitted]

We have a right to expect a marked change this year in overcoming regional conflicts. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is to be completed. The problems of Cambodia, Namibia, the Sahara, and Cyprus will be resolved. All these chronic conflicts won't, perhaps, be fully settled in 1989, but the foundations will be laid for such settlements.

We also have a right to expect a USSR-U.S. accord on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. Following the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, this will be a further major step along the path toward ridding mankind of nuclear weapons altogether.

The world community will also have to resolve other tasks in order to open up an era of productive cooperation and switch intellectual and material resources to solely peaceful and constructive purposes.

However, it would be politically naive to close our eyes to the maneuvers being performed by the enemies of international cooperation. They have a broad spectrum of "counterarguments" ranging from British Foreign Secretary G. Howe's "considerate" proposals "not to rush" and "to act carefully" and "with circumspection"—what if the Soviets are swindling us?—and statements by U.S. political specialist D. Simes to the effect that the Soviet Union is only contemplating changing the world order for its own selfish interests and intentions, to the out-and-out alarm the Soviet ideas have caused in the NATO staffs.

Here we are not only dealing with irresponsible political shysters or NATO staff officers and clerks who are unencumbered by any sense of responsibility. You can't reform the former, and in their own way the latter earn an honest living—which is, incidentally, by no means meager. It is worse when people directing and implementing large states' policy are overcome by throwbacks to the past. The world has witnessed such a relapse into the "law of the fist."

This is a question of the armed incident over the waters of the Mediterranean, where U.S. aircraft, launched from the "John F. Kennedy" aircraft carrier, downed two Libyan warplanes on the pretext that they were allegedly "displaying hostile intent." Although the Americans themselves acknowledge that the Libyan pilots did not fire a single shot, people in Washington are making all manner of excuses for their pilots' actions. But there is no justification for them, just as there is no justification for the policy that incited them to press their missile launch buttons. For this incident is only one link in the chain of U.S. provocative actions aimed against the sovereign state of Libya. One wonders who gave the United States the right to dictate its will to other countries and threaten them with retribution—including cruise missile strikes—if they refuse to submit to this diktat. There can be no justification for the imperialist thinking that Washington has once again demonstrated and for the imperialist policy arising from it. This course can only lead to a new gaping breach in the walls of the edifice of world cooperation and trust that has been erected by the entire world community and reduce the whole world to a chaos of tension and mutual suspicion.

Nor can other actions on the part of the opponents of international cooperation and those who implement policy from a position of strength fail to arouse disquiet. Under conditions where the Soviet Union and, in its wake, certain other Warsaw Pact countries are carrying out unilateral reductions in their armed forces and arms, the United States and NATO are continuing their militarist preparations on a large scale. Thus, U.S. General A. Goodpaster, former NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, insists on improving U.S. approaches "in the tactical, operational, and strategic spheres." Meanwhile a large-scale, 20-year modernization program has been elaborated for the entire complex of U.S. enterprises producing nuclear weapons, which is designed to run until 2010. At the same time NATO staffs are preparing a decision on the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe that will be submitted to the bloc's leading organs for examination.

Despite increasingly broad criticism of the Reagan "Strategic Defense Initiative," work on its implementation is still going on. Tests have just begun on the EV-88 computer network that incorporates 30 large computer systems and 8 mini-supercomputers and is to control SDI system components. Certain West European countries are becoming increasingly extensively involved in work in the SDI sphere. Thus, Britain is examining the possibility of creating an ABM defense system based on the "Sea Wolf" and "Star Streak" missiles.

All this requires vast expenditure and, despite all the financial difficulties, Bush's staffers are insisting on the previously planned $12 billion increase in the military budget for fiscal 1990. Incidentally, the new U.S. president's entourage has frequently stressed that continuity is the basis of his administration's activity in the international arena. However, the following question arises: Continuity in what? In the manifestations of imperialist diktat that were characteristic of the outgoing administration at various stages of its rule or in the realism that has recently become perceptible? I would like to hope that the path of realism will prove preferable.

Those are the facts. They put heightened responsibility on Soviet Armed Forces personnel—especially under conditions of the upcoming cuts. Combat readiness cannot and must not suffer. M.S. Gorbachev stressed this idea in particular in his speech at the United Nations. He said: "We will maintain the country's defense capability at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency so that no one will be tempted to infringe upon the security of the USSR and its allies."

Yes, one cannot simplify the situation in the world. We have a right, however, to expect 1989 to be a year of progress toward a new world order.

GATT Commission Adopts Action Program

LD1101201589 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A session of the Soviet Interdepartmental Commission on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ended here today with the setting up of working bodies. The session chaired by Aleksandr Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister for foreign economic relations, examined questions connected with the Soviet Union's rapprochement with GATT with due account for the economic reform being implemented in the country, as well as the upgrading of foreign economic relations. A plan of actions of the Soviet side was adopted.

Benefits of East-West Trade Viewed

PM1201120789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by M. Knyazkov under the rubric "Who Does Not Like Mutually Advantageous International Cooperation": "Pirouettes of Political Magic"]

[Text] NEWSWEEK recently cited a curious figure: In recent months West European banks have expressed readiness to grant the USSR credits worth a total of $12 billion.

A substantial sum, and one which says a lot. First of all, it says that our country's position and reputation on foreign economic markets have become considerably stronger. After all, as a rule you do not give money to people you do not trust. And there is such diversity in the offers from the FRG, France, and Italy. Other countries also want to expand mutually advantageous cooperation with us, and it would seem that there are now no serious obstacles to its development, but...

Oh, those "buts"—which can sometimes reduce any useful business to nothing! The opponents of economic cooperation between the West European countries and

the Soviet Union are being activated, and it cannot be ruled out that the question of this cooperation will be put on NATO's agenda in the immediate future.

There are already grounds for fearing that this "discussion"—if it takes place—will in fact become another session in which the United States twists the arms of its partners across the ocean. Let's listen to what is being said now on the banks of the Potomac about the economic ties which have become livelier between the USSR and the West European countries.

"Our allies," Democratic Senator J. Sasser asserts, "are offering the Eastern bloc loans of billions of dollars without any conditions and are thus increasing the burden of the free world." Incidentally, Sasser was one of the authors of the resolution adopted by the U.S. Senate last year urging Washington's NATO allies to display restraint in economic relations with Moscow and to "consider the interests of security" to a greater degree when supplying credits.

"It's a catastrophe!" he is echoed by Stephen Bryen, former U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense. His main argument is that West European credits will allegedly help the USSR continue to build up its military might.

Many newspapers are coming out in the same spirit. Even THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, usually cautious in its statements, wrote recently that "the West's financing of restructuring would enable the Soviet Union to continue to spend almost one-fifth of its GNP on arms instead of spending more on its inefficient civilian sector."

Surely the NATO countries have not abandoned even one of their numerous military programs? But the USSR has taken this step, as stated for all to hear by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations.

The USSR will effect the declared reductions to its Armed Forces unilaterally, without any conditions. As historical experience shows, however, genuine disarmament is always a mutual process demanding reductions of armed forces and arms on both sides for the sake of observing the principle of parity and equal security. NATO, alas, is so far demanding that only the Warsaw Pact countries take further unilateral steps and is elaborating plans to "modernize" the nuclear arms remaining in Western Europe after the withdrawal of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Let's leave to the conscience of THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE the claims about the proportion of the GNP which allegedly goes toward military purposes in the USSR. Indeed, is it worth concerning ourselves exclusively with the question of military expenditure? After all, the problem is broader. "Should the West make life easier for the Soviet leader by financing restructuring?" THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE again asks.

Actually, we shall not succumb to the magical impact of elegantly constructed phrases. Essentially the question can be put thus: In its economic relations with the Soviet Union, should the West continue to follow the practice of sanctions and boycotts or should it develop normal, mutually advantageous contacts with it?

In this connection I remember a very wise statement by Francois Eisberg, a staffer at the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, who, answering a similar question, shrugged in surprise: "You ask whether it is to the advantage of the Western countries' economies to sell their output to the Soviets on rather advantageous terms? If it is, then perhaps it is also to the advantage of the Soviets. But after all, that is the point of business."

Business is indeed not charity, but is based on mutual advantage. And if West European and, indeed, transatlantic corporations and banks are now displaying heightened interest in cooperation with the USSR, this is primarily because they see in it direct advantage for themselves.

A fresh example: British Foreign Secretary G. Howe recently announced that as a result of new business contacts with the Soviet Union, in the past year alone British firms have received a total of $680 million in pure profit. You can understand why the secretary stated loudly in this connection: "We want this substantial growth to continue."

So what is the result? The result is that, despite the opinion of THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, on entering into business relations with Soviet enterprises and institutions, Western corporations and banks are financing not restructuring but above all themselves. Of course, the Soviet side does not lose out either.

"So why is it precisely now that there has been renewed life in economic contacts between East and West?" the reader may ask. Restructuring, of course, is "to blame" for this. But it has not asked for but has helped and considerably expanded the opportunities for concluding foreign economic deals. As a result of the reforms already implemented or being implemented in the USSR, the Western business world has started to display far greater interest in the Soviet market, in the opportunities opened up before it by the transformations in the USSR. But it is doing this proceeding mainly from its own interests. "The United States has an enormous foreign trade deficit," T. Thomson, vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, stated frankly. "The solution of these problems would be considerably promoted by the buildup of varied economic and trade ties with the USSR, including the creation of joint Soviet-U.S. enterprises."

In our time there is scarcely any point in trying to persuade anyone that the development of trade and other types of economic cooperation between states is a boon. Restructuring is making it possible to lead international economic relations to new heights, from which all peoples—West European, U.S., and Soviet—will undoubtedly benefit. It is obvious that it is for precisely

this reason, having carefully analyzed the situation that has taken shape, that a serious newspaper like THE WASHINGTON POST has reached the following conclusion in an editorial article: "We have no grounds for opposing credit and trade (with the USSR—M.K.)."

It is true that old stereotypes are, alas, alive. The wave of "anxiety" which has swept the United States is evidence that certain circles in that country intend to rein in its Western allies and essentially nip in the bud the revival that has begun in economic ties between East and West.

United States & Canada

President Ronald Reagan Gives Farewell Address

LD1201092289 Moscow TASS in English 0913 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 12 TASS—President Ronald Reagan delivered his farewell address to the nation on Wednesday night.

Reagan, whose term of office expires on January 20, told the TV audience that on New Year's Day Americans toasted "the new peacefulness around the globe". Reagan ascribed this to the return of American strength during his presidency.

"Not only have the superpowers actually begun to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons—and hope for even more progress is bright—but the regional conflicts that rack the globe are also beginning to cease," the President said, citing as an example the situation relating to Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Angola.

The President paid special attention to the development of Soviet-American relations during his term of office.

Despite differences between the two social systems and in approaches to such notions as freedom and human rights, he said, "we have, in the past few years, forged a satisfying new closeness with the Soviet Union."

"We must keep up our guard—but we must also continue to work together to lessen and eliminate tension and mistrust," Reagan said.

After acknowledging the processes of perestroyka and glasnost underway in the USSR, the President said:

"I want new closeness to continue. And it will as long as we make it clear that we will continue to act in a certain way as long as they continue to act in a helpful manner."

Reagan said that one of the regrets of his presidency was the remaining federal budget deficit. He had to mention this subject because of one of his campaign promises: to do away with the deficit, which however remained at a steady 180 billion dollars a year.

Bidding farewell to his fellow countrymen, Ronald Reagan said that America wants "an informed patriotism" and called on them to pay more attention to American history and civil traditions.

TASS Notes Reagan's Final Economic Report

LD1101115989 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 11 TASS—President Reagan on Tuesday made public his eighth and final economic report to Congress.

As was expected, the report enumerates the economic achievements during the Reagan administration's term of office.

When introducing the report to journalists, Beryl Sprinkel, the president's chief economic adviser, said that 19 million new jobs had been created, unemployment rate had become record-low in the past 14 years—less than six per cent, and inflation diminished to 4.5 per cent in average yearly terms since the economic recovery began in the United States.

During Reagan's term of office, a marked improvement of a whole number of economic indicators was really observed in the United States, although the 19 million new jobs mentioned were resultant chiefly of the expansion of the public service sector.

No one disputes that an economic recovery has been observed in the country since 1982. However, democrats in Congress and a number of leading economic experts doubt that this is to the credit of the Reagan administration which took office in the period of regular cyclic economic downswing and on the eve of the inevitable upturn.

Moreover, many experts believe that the Americans will have to pay for Reagn's economic policy in future years because the country virtually began 'to live by borrowing' under the incumbent administration.

The U.S. national debt under Reagan has more than trebled and exceeded three 3,000,000 milion dollars. [as received] From the once leading lender, the United States developed into the leading international debtor. In the 1988 fiscal year alone, the payment of interest on the federal debt amounted to 105,200 million dollars.

The federal budget deficits became a chronic ailment. In the current fiscal year alone, the budget deficit is believed to run at over 161,000 million dollars.

The acutest debt problems are expected to bring about an inevitable decline in business activity in the country and, as a consequence, an economic downturn which, as many U.S. economists forecast, will begin at the end of this year or early in 1990.

Paper Comments on Reagan's Final Draft Budget

PM1101140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by correspondent Vitaliy Gan: "Toward the End of the Act...."]

[Text] Washington, 10 Jan—The "battle of the budget," as the process of elaborating the country's main financial document has been called here since time immemorial, has begun in Washington.

President Reagan submitted today for examination by Congress his ninth and final draft federal budget, for the fiscal year which begins 1 October. Although the Reagan administration's term of office expires in 11 days, that is the tradition enshrined in law. The outgoing president must formulate his financial and economic proposals irrespective of how his successor acts—whether he submits his own draft or agrees with the preliminary outlines put forward.

This year it is precisely this element which lends an intriguing twist to the budget process. Of itself the draft of federal expenditure and revenue sent to the Capitol contained essentially no surprises, bearing the imprint of the Reagan administration's already familiar political and financial philosophy.

As before, the White House proposes earmarking more money for guns than for butter, organizing a veritable auto-da-fe against domestic social programs, at whose expense it is mainly planned to reduce the gigantic budget deficit.

In drafting the Pentagon budget the administration planned to proceed along its previous course of all-around flexing of its "muscles" as though there were no Soviet-U.S. efforts to limit the arms race, no prospects of attaining radical agreements in this field, and no unilateral initiatives on the part of the USSR. The "from a position of strength" postulate is clearly being given preference over the most persistent demands to demilitarize Soviet-U.S. relations.

In fiscal 1990 the total level of military expenditure has been set at $315.1 billion and in fiscal 1991 at nearly $331 billion. That means that taking inflation into account the real growth of Pentagon appropriations should be 2 percent.

The defense department "menu" which has been submitted includes all programs without exception for creating and building up destabilizing strategic systems like ICBM's, the MX, B-1, Trident-2, and U.S. Air Force and Navy. Expenditure on work to implement the "strategic defense initiative" will increase by 41.8 billion—to $5.9 billion. To be fair it must be said that the compilers of the draft mention arms control but only noting in passing "the possibility of far-reaching changes to the status of the strategic forces" and "an improvement in the chances of attaining equitable and verifiable agreements." But this comment of theirs has obviously been relegated to the background by the impressive list of planned military purchases.

The list of 82 domestic programs to be completely abolished shows up in sharp contrast against this background. At the same time the budget planner's "knife" has been hard at work on items providing support for farmers and programs for medical aid subsidies for the poor. In the now ritual reductions in expenditure for social purposes the administration has, in brief, finally surpassed itself in the toughness of its "recipes." Even the planned reduction in the budget deficit can hardly justify this "bloodletting" of items on which the living standard of millions of Americans depends.

Indeed, it is as yet premature to say that everything will happen that the White House recommends. The Democrats, who control Congress, had rejected the Reagan draft even before it had been officially made public. "Its adoption would mean America's transformation into a tougher and more evil country," Senator J. Sasser said.

The debates which have flared up in Washington affect mainly questions as to whether the draft can serve as a serious document for the start of budget talks between President-elect G. Bush and Congress, and whether he will adhere to the economic forecasts in which the Reagan administration deals—forecasts which are regarded as excessively optimistic. Of course, as of today there are no answers. Through his spokesman Bush has called the document which has been drafted "excellent" proof of how it is possible to struggle against the deficit without raising taxes. But at the same time he unambiguously retained the right to revise the entire draft. It would hardly be appropriate to expect any other step from the 41st U.S. president as he prepares to enter the White House—Congress' criticism of the budget arrangements in fact sounds a warning of the need for a complete revision of budget priorities.

Reagan 'Faithful to Policy' on Defense Budget

OW1101143089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1235 GMT 11 Jan 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] Later this January, John Tower will go through the U.S. Senate procedure of confirmation of his appointment to the post of Secretary of Defense in the Bush administration. Frank Carlucci, the current secretary, plans to leave the post on 1 February. However, he is still in his post and is defending the military expenditures allocated under the already published budget plans of the administration.

Incidentally, these plans envisage a real annual 2-percent increase in Pentagon allocations for the 1990-1991 fiscal year. The draft budget was proposed by President Reagan as a farewell gesture, so to say. One should say that the administration is faithful to its policy of increasing military expenditures at the expense of domestic programs.

Here are some figures: For the 1990 fiscal year, it is proposed that more than $315 billion be allocated to the Pentagon, and for 1991 almost $331 billion. More than $9 billion will be added to this, being the sum allocated to the Department of Energy, which is in charge of the program of nuclear stockpile modernization and development of new nuclear arms systems. Starting the large-scale production of B-2 Stealth bombers, invisible to radar, is also envisaged. The development of a new Air

Force system of antisatellite arms, nuclear missiles for the Trident-2 submarines, and rail platform-based MX intercontinental ballistic missiles will be continued.

Carlucci admitted that the administration's demand to increase the allocation for the Star Wars program—$5.6 billion for 1990 and $7 billion for 1991—will be the subject of a great battle in Congress.

Many experts have come to the conclusion that the demands of the outgoing administration are definitely overestimated, but since the figures will be approved during President Bush's tenure, this will give the latter the opportunity to reduce the military expenditures by at least $2 billion. This, however, is theoretical conjecture.

'Competitive Strategies' Defense Policy Analyzed

PM1101155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov article: "Pentagon View of 21st Century. Debate Over 'Competitive' Strategies Project"]

[Text] In the opinion of the majority of the population of the United States and of countries allied with it, the speech by the Soviet head of state at the UN General Assembly session opened up new prospects for strengthening states' security—prospects ruling out a military struggle. It is natural that increasingly loud voices are being heard everywhere, and in the United States as well, in favor of arms reductions to the minimum level adequate for defense, and accordingly in favor of a cardinal revision of military doctrines.

The example of the USSR, which has decided unilaterally to reduce its armed forces by half a million men—approximately equal to the strengthen of the entire FRG Bundeswehr—and to reduce the number of their tanks by 10,000 units, is prompting many Americans to demand that the U.S. Administration take reciprocal steps, or at any rate not increase its arms.

However, judging from reports issuing from Washington, the Pentagon is not yet thinking of doing this. Preparations for still further stepping up the arms race remain in full swing there, though the General Accounting Office of Congress, according to a 14 December report from Washington, warned that "as a consequence of the spiraling cost of U.S. arms, expenditures on national security are getting beyond our means."

New and still more aggressive so-called "competitive strategies" are being elaborated, designed for the long term, right up to the 21st century.

The expression "competitive strategies" began appearing in the pages of the U.S. press quite recently. When G. Bush used it publicly for the first time during his television debates with M. Dukakis—in passing, as it were—NEWSWEEK reported that it "bewildered even his best informed electors," for no one knew what it meant. But then very authoritative explanations were published, including a statement by Defense Secretary F. Carlucci entitled "The Year 2000: Technology and National Security in the 21st Century," and little by little its essence began to become clear.

It turns out that the elaboration of new military plans called "competitive strategies" began back in February 1986 when U.S. allies, faced with the Soviet Union's bold peace initiatives, which were popular in the West, increasingly frequently began asking this question: Is it not time to abandon the basic NATO doctrine of the supposedly inevitable need to use nuclear weapons to repulse the "threat from the East"?

That was why the Pentagon decided to begin the search for "competitive strategies" (this term is invariably employed in the plural). I will point out in passing that the notorious "nuclear deterrence" strategy also remains in force and, what is more, it is backed up by the continuing improvement of nuclear missile weapons. AP reported as recently as 3 January that "Report-2010" had been submitted to Congress, setting forth a plan for the modernization of the entire range of enterprises which produce nuclear weapons. According to the 20-year plan, approximately $250 billion "at 1990 prices" is to be spent on this modernization and on the production of nuclear weapons.

But what do the "competitive strategies" promise?

WASHINGTON POST commentator P. Almond has written that the group of experts set up in the past by then Defense Secretary Weinberger, and headed by the energetic 33-year-old technocrat Dennis Kloske, who is in charge of scientific research at the Pentagon, set to work very vigorously. Specialists sat at computers and spent thousands of hours on war games with them—so the magazine NEWSWEEK wrote.

Acting on the basis of "scenarios of combat operations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact," these "computer games" were conducted "with reliance on existing weapons and on the weapons which it is proposed to create [sozdat] through 1998, inclusive."

Weinberger went. Carlucci came, seemingly not such a bellicose person and disposed toward dialogue. He spoke in favor of reducing offensive kinds of weapons. But that did not prevent him from confirming on 28 October of last year the powers of D. Kloske's group to elaborate further new military plans—which fact THE WASHINGTON POST did not fail to report.

What does this group propose now?

Let us go over to D. Kloske himself, having recently met with military commentators in the U.S. press to familiarize them with the studies already prepared.

—In the event of war, Kloske points out, the U.S. Navy "must be among the first to respond to a Soviet attack (?) on West Europe, with several salvoes of cruise missiles from ships in the North Sea and the Mediterranean against concentrations of Soviet reserve forces still remaining in the western part of the Soviet Union."

—Further, Tacit Rainbow missiles must be launched to "deep behind enemy lines." They "must remain undetected for several hours before being aimed (by means of broadcast radio signals) at targets" (is it thus a question of the secret launching of these "silent" missiles even before the start of military operations?—Yu.Zh.).

—Further, Stealth aircraft, which evade detection by radar, must be mobilized.

—Further, "antitank mines projected several tens of miles behind enemy lines by missiles of NATO's Joint Tactical Air Command" must be used.

What is this? A strategy pursuing purely defensive aims, in whose favor Carlucci has repeatedly spoken in public? In my opinion, it would be more correct to regard such a strategy as exclusively aggressive and providing for an invasion of foreign territory! It is characteristic that, in setting forth Kloske's statements, NEWSWEEK deemed it necessary to define as follows the essence of the new military plans elaborated by his group: They "provide for a certain type of nonnuclear war involving the latest technology, which would be almost incredibly quick, bewildering, and destructive."

But let us listen to the opinion of the Pentagon's most authoritative representative on this—that of Defense Secretary F. Carlucci himself, who is now preparing to hand this department over to his successor, who will be appointed by the new president. In a speech at American University in the capital, he came out unambiguously in support of the "competitive strategies" (true, he gave them a somewhat different name—"competing"). And he confirmed that they are based on the use of the latest achievements of military-industrial technology, which, as he put it, "will alter the appearance of our armed forces in the nineties and in the subsequent period."

"Our technical superiority," Carlucci continued, "can give us levers of strategic influence.... Our present task is to ensure the development of our technical potential so as to provide the maximum strategic advantage."

In other words, Carlucci in point of fact called for a new cycle of the arms race to be begun—a more modern race in accordance with the latest scientific achievements. Its purpose is to create a fundamentally new material base for implementing the "competitive strategies."

These are the facts from which it follows that, despite the changeover of those at the head of the Defense Department, the Pentagon, which remains a kind of state within a state, is continuing to go its own way. Secretaries come and go, but the Pentagon continues the race for more and more new arms, reckoning that the race will still be maintained in the 21st century.

Will the Pentagon be restructured? U.S. newspapers write in this connection that the public expects of the country's newly elected leadership measures which will make it possible if not to curb the Pentagon then at least to restrain its appetite. I will note, for example, an interesting article in THE WASHINGTON POST entitled "Bush Advisers Insist on Restructuring the Pentagon," which states that certain Bush advisers believe that "the most favorable opportunity to reform the Pentagon since the time of Dwight Eisenhower is opening up before him."

"This argument is lent special topicality," Wilson, a commentator for this newspaper, pointed out, "by a unique combination of international and internal circumstances, ranging from the Soviet Union's deep involvement in restructuring its civilian economy to the Defense Department's expected exposes with regard to swindles in the purchasing of weapons systems.... The public is opposed to a further increase in the Pentagon budget."

People can see that no one threatens the United States, and that it is time to think not about replacing one militant strategy with another still more aggressive one, but about making a realistic assessment of the new situation taking shape in the world, drawing the proper conclusions from it.

The future will show what steps the U.S. Administration will take, taking these judgments into account. We shall see what we shall see, as the saying goes.

Accords Signed on Cooperation in Science, Drugs

PM1101121789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[V. Tikhonov article: "New Accords"]

[Text] On 8 January 1989 E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, who have been in Paris in connection with the International Conference on Chemical Weapons in progress there, signed two documents—an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on cooperation in the sphere of basic scientific research, and a memorandum on mutual understanding and cooperation in the fight against illegal drug trafficking.

Another step has been taken in giving real substance to mutually useful cooperation in such an extensive sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations as bilateral ties. Their importance is determined, among other things, by the fact that it is in this area that we are witnessing the development of direct contacts between departments, firms, organizations, research institutes, academic establishments, and, finally, ordinary citizens from these two countries. The

role of this aspect of interstate communication is growing, with trends increasing toward humanizing and democratizing world politics.

Scientific and technical ties between the Soviet Union and the United States—two leading scientific powers in the world—got off to a rather slow start. They began to develop in 1958 after the conclusion of the first Soviet-U.S. agreement on scientific and other exchanges.

In the first half of the seventies the situation changed. Soviet-U.S. scientific and technical cooperation was placed on a really firm footing. A total of 11 intergovernmental agreements were signed, which provided the legal foundations for developing contacts and ties in such areas as science and technology, transport, power engineering, the peaceful use of nuclear energy, medical science and health care, the creation of an artificial heart, space, agriculture, environmental protection, research of the world's oceans, and so forth. Joint research was conducted into more than 300 problems and subjects.

Later on, however, the development of scientific exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States was negatively affected by the general tone which prevailed in Soviet-U.S. relations. At the end of the seventies they went into a deep freeze and, at the beginning of the eighties, they were for the most part curtailed.

Soviet-U.S. scientific and technical collaboration was placed on a new, more stable basis after the Geneva meeting (in 1985) between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. In addition to reaching a fundamental mutual understanding, this meeting was also marked by the signing of a general agreement between the Soviet and U.S. governments on contacts, exchanges, and cooperation in science, technology, education, culture, and other areas. The revival of Soviet-U.S. scientific and technical contacts was one of the first signs of the beginning improvement in the political climate between Moscow and Washington.

A characteristic feature of the present stage in collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States is that the two sides have oriented themselves toward seeking modern, long-term spheres and forms of cooperation, displaying their respective potentials to the full. An agreement on the peaceful exploration of space is being successfully implemented, the Soviet proposal on cooperation in the sphere of controlled thermonuclear fusion is being translated into practice, cooperation in transport science and technology has been restored, interacademy exchanges are becoming more active, and direct scientific and technical collaboration with private companies in the United States is quite broadly practiced.

Work is conducted both in terms of developing new projects and themes within the framework of existing agreements and through the drafting of new intergovernmental documents. The agreement signed in Paris on cooperation in the sphere of basic scientific research is an example of the latter.

This new intergovernmental accord will allow organizations and individual scientists from the two countries to conduct joint theoretical or experimental research designed to gain a fuller knowledge of fundamental aspects of phenomena and observed facts. It will include the exchange of scientists, specialists, and researchers, joint scientific conferences, symposiums, and working meetings, and the exchange of scientific information and documentation. Although the agreement does not provide for the development of applied technologies on the basis of research conducted, it does not rule out the possibility of the results achieved being applied in the future.

The "framework" nature of this agreement is no accident. It opens up virtually boundless opportunities for collaboration between Soviet and American scientists in the most diverse projects and subjects across a broad range of areas of scientific knowledge. A joint Soviet-U.S. commission will be established to coordinate the cooperation envisaged by the agreement. In an appendix to the agreement, the sides stated their interest in organizing cooperation in such areas as earth sciences, life sciences, basic scientific research in the engineering sciences, mathematics, chemistry, physics theory, problems specific to the Arctic and the North, and political science.

With regard to translating the fundamental intentions formulated in the agreement into the language of practical projects, it is planned to conclude the appropriate memorandums on accords on specific subjects. Memorandums of understanding between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. National Science Foundation, and also between the USSR Ministry of Geology and the U.S. Geological Service, are virtually agreed, providing the necessary tools for implementing the concluded agreement.

It goes without saying that signing the agreement on basic scientific research certainly does not mean that there are now no weak points in Soviet-U.S. scientific and technical ties. There are still a great many problems in this area. A strong recurrence of old attitudes can be felt on the U.S. side. However, both countries are gradually facing the task of building cooperation on a number of key problems in the present stage of information science in the industrial revolution.

Another example of the two states' responsible approach to their relationship is the memorandum signed in Paris on mutual understanding and cooperation in the fight against illegal drug trafficking. In Washington in December 1987, top Soviet and U.S. leaders agreed to include problems of global significance common to all mankind on the agenda of their bilateral collaboration, and instructed their countries' scientists to pool their efforts in such important areas as global changes in climate and the environment, preservation of the earth's ozone layer, and the fight against international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and against the spread of drugs.

Cooperation between Soviet and U.S. representatives in the fight against illegal international drug trafficking dates back to 1981. At various international forums on these matters (the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs, the International Conference on the Fight Against Illegal Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse, and so forth) delegations from the two countries have collaborated constructively.

The concern felt by the world community at the increase in drug addiction and the scale of the drug trade has often been expressed at a high political level. The drug problem, extending now beyond the responsibilities of national health care, has become a political problem, and cannot be solved without real, effective cooperation between states.

The Soviet-U.S. memorandum signed in Paris creates firm legal foundations for direct collaboration between the two countries' law enforcement bodies. In line with the provisions of this document, there will be an exchange of information on criminals crossing the territory of one country into another, as well as an exchange of methods used to detect contraband consignments of dangerous substances. Constant exchanges of experts and specialists must be organized. Special methods of joint operations will be used, which have made it possible on several occasions for Soviet customs officials—in collaboration with their colleagues from other countries—to uncover criminal networks of drug traffickers.

The signing of these two documents is an important event for Soviet-U.S. relations. Basically, it means implementing the intention expressed in New York by the Soviet and U.S. leaders, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, to ensure the steady, ongoing development of Soviet-U.S. dialogue on the basis of constructive continuity.

U.S., Israeli Firms Sign Star Wars Accord

OW1101153589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1235 GMT 11 Jan 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] The United States and Israel are expanding cooperation within the framework of the Star Wars program. The U.S. Lockheed Aviation and Space Corporation [as heard] signed with Israeli Aircraft Industries, which belongs to the State of Israel, an agreement on joint production of the Israeli Arrow missile. It is designed to strike at ballistic missiles at high altitudes.

Incidentally, this project has already cost the United States $158 million.

U.S. Refusal of Visa for Batenin 'Illogical'

PM1101162789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[A. Lyutyy article under rubric "What Lies Behind a Visa Refusal?": "'The Television Company Regrets....'"]

[Text] Just a few days ago, on 3 January, in an article entitled "Thirty-Three Misfortunes," our newspaper told readers about the existence of statutes in the United States, adopted in the McCarthy era, which prohibit entry into the country for many foreigners on purely political grounds—and often for no obvious reason at all. These laws somehow do not fit in easily with present-day world realities.

It is true that we could not have suspected that life or, to be more precise, the American side would suddenly produce for us a fresh example in confirmation of the above. The other day, the U.S. State Department refused to issue an entry visa to Soviet Major General G.V. Batenin. He was to have taken part in a press conference in Los Angeles to mark the U.S. debut of a 13-part television journalism film called "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age." It is a meditative piece, filled with commentaries by scientists, members of the military, and politicians on the sources of the arms race, ways to reverse this process, and the nuclear age in general. The public television company PBS, responsible for making the film, is holding talks to discuss the possibility of its being shown in the Soviet Union too.

So what made Washington refuse entry to one of the people involved in the creation of the film? According to PBS spokesmen, the State Department said that G.V. Batenin represents a "threat to the security" of the United States. This pretext is at best illogical. First of all, because the Soviet military expert has already visited the United States several times without any problems and obviously does not represent any "threat." Second, as the executive producer of the film has pointed out, how could the Soviet general pose any threat to the United States by taking part in such a peaceful enterprise as a press conference?

The leadership of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting recently sent an official protest to the USIA, rightly pointing out that the step taken by the State Department runs counter to the free exchange of ideas, which, incidentally, the American side itself is calling for. In his reply, USIA Director Charles Wick expressed his sympathy, agreeing that the State Department's decision does not accord with current trends in Soviet-U.S. relations, but saying that he could do nothing as the USIA is not empowered to issue visas. As a result the ceremony marking the film debut was held without the participation of the Soviet representative, which the PBS Television Company greatly regrets.

We could stop at this point. This is actually far from the first time that we have spoken with the Americans about such matters—but the "iron curtain" in the United States is still quite often lowered, and not only before members of the Soviet military, but also before journalists and trade union figures. How does this fit in with the changes taking place throughout the entire gamut of Soviet-U.S. relations? Or is it that words are words, but sometimes you have to wait a while for action?

Oil Leak Forces Pan Am Landing in Moscow

LD1101140989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1346 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—A Boeing 747 of the U.S. Pan American company flying from Frankfurt on Main (FRG) to Delhi (India) with more than 300 passengers on board made a forced landing at Moscow's Sheremetevo-2 Airport late Tuesday evening.

A TASS correspondent was told by Aleksey Kulevov, deputy head of the main inspectorate for flight safety of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, that as it was flying over USSR territory in the region of Aktyubinsk (North Kazakhstan) at an altitude of 10,100 meters on 10 January at 2035 (Moscow time), the plane's crew discovered an oil leak in one of the four engines. The crew decided to stop the engine. At 2311 (Moscow time) the airliner made a forced landing in the Moscow area Sheremetevo-2 Airport. There were no complications with the landing.

"The fault in the engine was repaired at the airport and the Boeing-747 took off for Frankfurt at 1347 today without passengers. The U.S. airline company sent a replacement plane to Moscow to take the passengers to Delhi," Aleksey Kulevov said.

Story on Soviets Stealing Missile Part Mocked

PM1201090989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "The Sherlock Holmeses From the Pentagon"]

[Text] On Wednesday morning VOA reported something new: The latest "spy scandal" has exploded in the United States—an important secret, it was claimed, has fallen into Russian hands. IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Washington reports.

"Top secret information about U.S. strategic weapons may have been captured by the Soviets." This sensational claim was put forward by the CBS television network.

In the evening television newscast anchorman Dan Rather announced that CBS had received the following exclusive information from the Pentagon: In 1987 the United States lost the top secret instrument bay from a strategic missile. An investigation into the possibility of it having been seized by "Soviet submarinemen" is under way.

This is explained as follows. During test firings the missile was launched from a site on the U.S. coast and fell into the water in the target area near Kwajalein Atoll in the Pacific. A special vessel which was deployed in the area picked up the missile pieces from the seabed and transported them to specialists for investigation. However, the latter discovered that an important part—the instrument bay—was missing. It emerges that in order to keep missile flight data secret, this data is not transmitted via the air waves but recorded on instruments located in the warhead section of the missile.

So where did the instrument bay disappear to? Additional searches at the site where the missile came down yielded nothing. The testers do not rule out that the instrument bay was simply lost during transportation. However, the Pentagon is not satisfied with such a simple explanation. It fears the worst—namely that the instruments may have been seized by a "miniature Soviet submarine"....

In the course of painstaking searches a piece of "evidence" has been found. An empty Russian vodka bottle was found lying on the sandy beach of one of the uninhabited atolls. Clearly, the investigators believe, Soviet seamen spent some time here. Using the deduction method of Sherlock Holmes, the conclusion is reached: The section is in foreign hands.

China

Shevardnadze, Qian Prepare for Spring Summit

OW1101153889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] A meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen took place in Paris on 8 January. This is another proof of the smooth development of Soviet-Chinese relations. During the meeting, the two sides agreed that Shevardnadze will visit China in early February, and that the visit will be an important phase in preparation for a Soviet-Chinese summit. Quoting Qian Qichen's statement, Japan's KYODO reported that the summit will be held in the first half of this year. On this, our station observer Alekseyev has the following to say:

KYODO, as well as other press agencies, noted that both China and the Soviet Union have, in principle, decided to hold a summit meeting, and that there remain only the necessary preparations required for a summit between top leaders of the two countries.

The diminishing gap between Soviet and Chinese stances on the resolution of the Cambodian issue is undoubtedly a favorable factor for the upcoming summit. In this light, we welcome the Chinese leaders' approval of the new (?arrangements made between) Cambodia and Vietnam. In order to create the preconditions for a political settlement, Vietnam will complete its troop withdrawal from Cambodia before September 1989. A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that these (?arrangements) are a step forward and that China welcomes the development.

The Soviet Union has high expectations of the upcoming meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping. In my opinion, the meeting will give a new impetus to the further promotion of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. There is great potential in this area. For example, the Soviet Union and China have set similar priorities of development. Both countries are carrying out economic, social, and other structural reforms. Needless to say, exchange of experience in reforms can greatly benefit both countries. Of course, this is not the only area for cooperation. As Gorbachev pointed out during his meeting with Qian Qichen, there are broad prospects for developing cooperation in science, technology, social institutions, culture, youth, and tourism between the Soviet Union and China, two socialist neighbors. In short, what is meant here is the establishment of a flexible organization for bilateral ties.

Conditions 'Ripe' for Normalization of PRC Ties

OW1101154189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Of late, there have been many talks in the world on the prospects for complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. By and large these talks are filled with good wishes. The basic improvement of relations between the two big socialist countries, both possessing nuclear weapons, will be to very good effect, both for themselves and for the world. This view is not groundless. Our station observer Ivanov has the following comments on this:

The Year of the Dragon, which has just ended, has seen a number of events, big and small, influencing to varying degrees the process of normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. The year 1988 began with Gorbachev making a statement to Beijing's LIAOWANG weekly. The Chinese public can understand more thoroughly from this statement the Soviet leadership's view on the world situation and on relations between the two countries. They believe that this proves that Moscow is willing to hold positive dialogues with Beijing at various levels. Gorbachev's speech delivered last September in Krasnoyarsk stated unequivocally: We stand for the complete normalization of our relations with the People's Republic of China and the development of these relations to a level where we shoulder the responsibility for world politics. Steps taken toward normalization are quite clear. There have been increasing contacts. Both sides have cherished more goodwill toward each other and have enhanced their mutural trust.

There were also good events toward the end of the Year of the Dragon. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen made an official visit to the Soviet Union, the first of its kind in some 30 years. In a recent interview with Yugoslav reporters, the Chinese foreign minister stressed that the Soviet-Chinese summit will (?mean) the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China, and that work in preparation of the summit is under way. Quite obviously, to the people of the two countries, conditions for putting Soviet-Chinese relations on the track of normalization are ripe, and it is imperative to do so.

The processes of socialist reform in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have many things in common, despite their different specific conditions. They have [words indistinct] and made positive efforts to explore ways for mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

The Soviet Union highly values the complete normalization of relations between the two countries, and wishes to develop such relations on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. We hope that there will be respect for each other's interests, viewpoints, experience, and practice. This is close to the wish that China cherishes. Recently, Qian Qichen reiterated that China wishes to establish new relations with the Soviet Union—that is, relations based on the five principles for peaceful coexistence.

Official Discusses Expansion of Trade With China

OW1101121989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 7 Jan 89

[From "Current Events and Music" program]

[Text] At the end of December last year, representatives of the All-Soviet Orient Foreign Trade Company visited China for trade talks. The company specializes in foreign trade with Asian countries. In our previous "Current Events and Music" program, Belayev, vice general manager of the All-Soviet Orient Foreign Trade Company, was invited to talk about various contracts signed with China. Today we will continue to introduce to our listeners the results of their talks in China.

Belayev said: The talks held between the delegation and the China Minerals and Metals Import and Export Company were of great significance. In addition to holding business talks, we decided to launch joint ventures in the near future. The Chinese side agreed to launch a joint venture either in the Soviet Union or in a third country, such as West Germany, Britain, or Singapore. We were very much interested in this idea, and plan to make a thorough study of the matter at the end of January, before beginning the actual work of launching

it. In addition, the Chinese company suggested setting up color photo development and printing centers in any locality in the Soviet Union. The Turkmen SSR in Soviet Central Asia expressed interest in this regard.

How do you assess the prospect of Soviet-Chinese trade?

[Begin recording of Belayev, speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] We think that the prospects for developing trade with China are very good. The number of both Soviet and Chinese enterprises, foreign trade organizations, and companies participating in bilateral trade is expanding fast. Most of our talks dealt with the establishment of direct contacts. The volume of trade is steadily rising. At the end of February, a major delegation from Beijing will visit the Soviet Union to discuss buying Soviet chemical fertilizer and selling Chinese clothing. Representatives of the China Minerals Import and Export Company have signed contracts in Moscow concerning metal supplies. In June of this year we will help hold a Chinese commodity exhibition in Ashkhabad, capital of the Turkmen SSR in Central Asia. A major Chinese exhibition will be held in the Soviet Union in 1989, and a Soviet exhibition will be held in China in 1990. They are bound to promote Soviet-Chinese trade.

Another factor favoring the development of Soviet-Chinese trade is the agreements reached during our talks in Beijing. In the first half of 1989, the All-Soviet Orient Foreign Trade Company will set up an agent office in Beijing. The question of setting up another agent office in Shanghai was also discussed. [end recording]

In conclusion, Belayev said: All this provides us with the opportunity to study the Chinese market and expand trade contacts with various Chinese companies.

PRC Implements Local Government Restructuring

PM1201111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jan 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reform of Government Organs"]

[Text] Beijing, 11 Jan—This year the chief effort in the reform of government organs in China will be directed at the reorganization of local governments. This will begin at province level in 1989 and will continue at district, city, and regional levels in 1990-1991. This was stated at an all-China working conference on questions of cadre work, which has ended here.

The reform of government organs is an important constituent part of the profound socioeconomic and political transformations being carried out in the country, the Chinese press points out in this connection. The first specific steps have already been taken. A structural reform of the PRC State Council is being successfully implemented. In particular, the number of ministry departments has been reduced by 20 percent.

Planning the development of regional economies, as well as regulation and control at a general level, will come within the sphere of the provincial governments' main functions. In addition, organs of power will manage markets and create favorable conditions for the development of enterprises, which will become independent in their activity as a result of the reform.

According to specialists' assessments, the measures being taken are designed to enhance the flexibility and efficiency of the work of government organs and to create a rational new structure for their activities.

Northeast Asia

North Koreans Push for Dialogue With South

PM1101162989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Razuvayev "Report From Panmunjom": "Dialogue Continues"]

[Excerpt] Kaesong-Pyongyang— [passage omitted] The division of Korea, which has lasted almost 45 years, is not only a national tragedy for the Korean people but also a source of tension in the Far East. All these years the DPRK Government and public have persisted in their efforts to defuse tension in the Korean peninsula and peacefully resolve the question of Korea's unification through dialogue and negotiation. They have offered a series of constructive proposals, including turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, ending large-scale military exercises, gradually reducing armed forces, and forming a Confederative Republic of Korea. To promote the earliest possible solution to questions connected with defusing tension in the Korean peninsula, the DPRK proposed last year (on 7 November 1988) convening a joint conference of North and South, in whose work representatives of various strata of the population from both halves of the country, leaders included, could participate.

This proposal was repeated in the New Year speech by Kim Il-song, president of the DPRK and general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee. In particular, he proposed the convening in Pyongyang in the near future of a political consultative conference involving leading figures from North and South who would represent the opinions of various political parties and groups, religious trends, and broad strata of the population in both halves of Korea.

It must be pointed out that the initiatives proposed by the DPRK have still not met with due response from leading circles in South Korea or their backers, the U.S. Administration. This was reaffirmed by the seventh meeting in preparation for a joint conference of parliamentarians from North and South, which was held in Panmunjom on New Year's Eve. The South Korean side,

for example, refused to discuss including as the main issue on the conference agenda the question of ending the annual U.S.-South Korean joint "Team Spirit" maneuvers.

The South Korean and foreign correspondents with whom I spoke in Panmunjom told me that attitudes in favor of national unity are growing among various strata of the population in South Korea. They said that protests against the presence of U.S. troops and U.S. nuclear weapons are now stronger there than they have ever been. According to them, the South Korean public is showing increasing understanding for the Soviet proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk.

In my view, the DPRK proposals show prospects for progress toward the reunification of Korea. The current North-South dialogue must be geared to the achievement of this aim.

Commentary on North Korean Proposal for Talks

OW1101075489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Ilichev commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries support the DPRK's proposal for relaxing tension on the Korean peninsula and holding constructive dialogue with South Korea. Our station commentator Ilichev has the following comment:

The DPRK wishes to solve the issue concerning the Korean peninsula. A recent evidence is the proposal made by the leadership of this republic for a north-south political consultative summit. As everyone knows, the proposal was contained in the New Year's message delivered by the DPRK leader Kim Il-song.

The DPRK stressed that the normalization of the situation on the peninsula can only be achieved on the basis of independence, peaceful reunification, and national unity. In Pyongyang's opinion, the prerequisite for achieving this goal is the cessation of war preparations and military confrontation and the establishment of mutual trust. Regretfully, so far there has been no trust in north-south relations.

A defense white book recently published by the South Korean government touched on this point. The author of the book frightens the South Korean people with so-called threats from the north and advocates the need to step up South Korea's militarization and keep the U.S. forces there. The U.S. forces' presence in South Korea is the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Quite obviously, there is a strong militarist force in the South Korean ruling clique. However, the Seoul authorities have not immediately rejected the DPRK's peaceful proposal as in the past. Not long ago, Seoul accepted Pyongyang's proposal for high-level talks on military and political issues and made a decision on holding a joint meeting of parliamentarians of North and South Korea.

The Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries have supported and continue to support the DPRK's proposal for the peaceful reunification of Korea. On his visit to the DPRK at the end of last year, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said: We believe that what the DPRK leadership has done is completely correct. First of all, it has proposed that the military and political tension in Korea be greatly relaxed and the peninsula be turned into a nuclear-free zone. It is Moscow's firm belief that taking a constructive attitude toward reconciliation on the Korean peninsula, on the principled basis of properly assessing the actual situation and paying attention to national harmony and the balance of interests there, will create new possibilities for ensuring peace and stability in the Far East.

New Mongolian Broadcasting Center Reported

PM1101111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Sapov report under the rubric "Countries of Socialism: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "Television Center Goes Into Operation"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 9 Jan—Mongolian television broadcast the New Year programs via a recently opened studio center, which was built with Soviet technical assistance.

With the commissioning of this center, the volume of radio broadcasts will increase by 50-150 percent and, by 1990, national television programming will amount to some 2,000 hours per year. So far, 90 percent of Mongolian people have the opportunity to listen to radio and some 50 percent can watch television broadcasts. There is an accord with the Soviet Union to launch a communication satellite for socialist countries in the Asian and Pacific region.

The new television center is only one of many projects for "propaganda purposes."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRK Ambassador's 6 Jan News Conference Reported

BK1101062389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Report on press conference by Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, held on 6 January at the PRK Embassy in Moscow for Soviet and foreign mass media correspondents—partly recorded]

[Text] [Begin Hor Nam Hong recording] Cambodia has been liberated from the genocidal Pol Pot regime for 10 years now. What was left for us by the genocidal Pol Pot

regime was a totally ruined Cambodia and a physically and mentally worn-out people, due to famine and to hard work in forced labor camps.

At present the Cambodian people are able to enjoy freedom and everything else needed for a good life. We have restored everything in the economic and social fields and [words indistinct] these fields.

As compared with 1979, rice yields have increased three-fold. Progress has been made every year in the other spearheads of our economic development program: namely rubber, fisheries, and forestry. This year's plan has nearly been overfulfilled. Much progress has been made in the field of education. One out of eight Cambodian people from a total population of nearly 8 million is currently attending school or some higher education institute. At present we still face many obstacles.

However, simultaneously with progress in the economic and social fields, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces [KPRAF] have proved that they are capable of taking responsibility for the defense of the motherland and for ensuring security for the Cambodian people. From 1982 to the end of 1988, three-fourths of the Vietnamese troops were withdrawn. The seventh withdrawal in 1988, involving 50,000 Vietnamese troops, clearly proved that the KPRAF are capable of taking over responsibility for the areas from which the Vietnamese troops were withdrawn. There have been definite changes in the balance of forces on the battlefield, but these changes are not favorable to the enemy.

The time set for total withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers from our country, from now until 1990, is not a long period. But the PRK still wants to seek a political solution even before that period, in order to advance toward reaching a national reconciliation and national reconstruction. However, any political solution must be in line with the statement issued at the meeting held in Bogor in July 1988 between the three Indochinese countries, the ASEAN countries, and the three other Cambodian groups. This statement said that the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia must be accompanied by the non-return of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and cessation of aid to the other opposing Cambodian groups.

With the sincere desire to seek a political solution, the PRK said that it is willing to include itself in the cessation of aid clause when an agreement is reached. In order to create an atmosphere favorable to the search for a common solution to the Cambodian problem, we have made successive proposals as follows:

Within the framework of an agreement on the withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia, there must be a cease-fire, aid to all Cambodian factions must be stopped, and the Armed Forces of each faction must be maintained while a decision is made concerning the future of the Cambodian National Army by the new government, which is to be formed after free elections held under international supervision.

In response to our sincere and goodwilled proposals, the other factions demanded the dissolution of the PRK and the formation of a quadripartite Army which would include the Pol Pot forces. They demanded four defense ministers and four chiefs of the general staff. This will only turn Cambodia into a state similar to that in Lebanon. At present, the fighting is taking place only on the border and in outlying remote areas. If the Pol Pot forces are allowed to enter Phnom Penh, an uncontrolled war will certainly burst out there. This is not a political solution, and it will create an even more complicated situation. This will only enable all other Cambodian factions to realize what they have failed to do through military means during the past 10 years.

However, at least the dialogue has begun. This is considered a step forward. We hope that the other Cambodian factions will understand our good will and sincere desire to reach a political solution. If the solution is reached quickly, it will be better for the Cambodian people as well as for Southeast Asia. [end recording]

[Announcer] Later, Comrade PRK Ambassador Hor Nam Hong answered questions asked by newsmen. Answering the Moscow Radio correspondent's question on whether foreign journalists will be allowed to go to Cambodia to observe the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, the comrade ambassador of the PRK said:

[Begin Hor Nam Hong recording] All the [Vietnamese] troops in Cambodia are to be withdrawn in 1990. This is a unilateral withdrawal even though no agreement has been reached. We have always invited journalists or representatives of any country to freely observe this unilateral withdrawal. The presence of newsmen or representatives of any country is welcomed. [end recording]

[Announcer] Concerning a Western journalist's question about the PRK Government's attitude regarding the repatriation of refugees who are now in Thailand, Comrade Hor Nam Hong said:

[Begin Hor Nam Hong recording] Concerning the settlement of the refugee problem, several times during the past few years we have proposed a meeting between Cambodian and Thai Red Cross delegations to allow for the repatriation of the refugees in a safe and orderly manner, so they will not face disasters such as that at the beginning of 1980, when they had to pass through dangerous areas. Our proposals have been based strictly on humanitarian reasons; we have never demanded that the Thai Government recognize the Cambodian Government through this humanitarian matter. Thailand has always rejected all these proposals. Because Thailand rejected these proposals, we have signed an agreement with the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] to let this organization be responsible for dispatching refugees from Thailand

to Cambodia. This United Nations organization has contacted Thailand directly on this matter. There has been no contact between us and Thailand. It all now depends, therefore, on whether the Thai Government is willing to let the refugees return home.

As is known to all comrades and friends, all the refugee camps and all the refugees are under the control of each opposing Cambodian group. We have therefore asked the UNHCR to do anything possible to allow the refugees to choose freely whether or not they want to return to Cambodia; that is, to give them full freedom to choose. Even though we realize that Thailand will allow only children and old people, who are useless to the Armed Forces of the other side, to return, we are still willing to welcome them. [end recording]

Defense Minister Yazov Greets PRK National Day
BK1201031589 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1200 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] On the 10th anniversary of our PRK's 7 January National Day, Comrade General Yazov, defense minister of the USSR, sent a message to Comrade General Tie Banh, PRK defense minister. Following is the essence of the message:

Respected Comrade Minister: On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and in my own name, I would like to express sincere congratulations to you and to the soldiers of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces [KPRAF] on the 10th anniversary of the PRK National Day. We are very happy to note that 10 years after the Cambodian people toppled the detested genocidal Pol Pot regime, your country has scored victories in building economic and cultural bases. I would like to wish you and the KPRAF success in increasing the capability for defending the motherland, to ensure the Cambodian people's constructive labor force.

Thai-Vietnamese Talks in Hanoi 'Beneficial'
BK1201071489 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] In Hanoi, the official discussions at the foreign ministerial level between Thailand and Vietnam have concluded. Both sides assessed that the discussions were very beneficial. The Vietnamese foreign minister said both sides were pleased with the results of their exchange of views. The two foreign ministers agreed that the political settlement of the Cambodian problem could be achieved within this year.

Recently Vietnam and Cambodia agreed to withdraw all Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia by September of this year if a political settlement of the Cambodian problem is reached.

Western Media Interference in Burma Criticized
BK1101134289 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Station commentator Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] Burmese military government authorities have repeatedly denied reports by Western broadcasting stations, which have been trying to impose their views on the Burmese people. The statements made especially at the news conference at the Burmese Ministry of Defense on 6 January were sound, straightforward, and blunt.

Col Kyaw Sann, the spokesman for the State Law and Order Restoration Council, said the United States has been blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of Burma. The accusation follows a report by the Voice of America, or VOA, that students who had returned from insurgent-infested areas are being arrested and killed.

We do not wish to examine the extent of truth behind the allegations that the Burmese authorities are detaining and torturing the returning students; even the diplomats stationed in Burma have said that such reports are only unconfirmed rumors. We should, however, study the situation in which the rumors are being spread.

The situation today is something extraordinary for Burma. There had been many reports about the expected riots and clashes between the government troops and the people at the funeral rites of Daw Khin Kyi, the wife of General Aung San [late national leader]. Some journalists even went so far as to predict another round of disturbances similar to those in August and September.

Facts, however, proved them wrong. Daw Khin Kyi's funeral went ahead in an organized and peaceful manner. Hundreds of thousands of people in Rangoon paid their last respects to the mother of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Moreover, the military government did not station more troops or impose restrictions at the funeral. It showed restraint and, contrary to expectations, did not even enforce the existing laws. The funeral in fact turned into a massive show of force of the Rangoon residents' support for the National League for Democracy [NLD].

People joining the funeral had NLD banners flying, and NLD badges were seen on the majority of them. The funeral on 2 January clearly showed that the Burmese people have the will to avoid extremism, even though contradictions of a national scale do exist among themselves. It wasn't without reason that Min Ko Naing [student leader], when delivering a eulogy at the funeral, said that the youth movement in Burma will continue the struggle through peaceful means to establish a democratic government.

In such a situation, there are two reasons why the spokesmen for the United States are promising material aid to the people who are carrying out anti-government activities after going to the insurgent areas. There is another point to discuss here.

The American, British, West German, Italian, and Japanese ambassadors to Burma had boycotted the reception held by the government to mark Burma's 41st independence anniversary. They had staged the boycott even though opposition leaders like Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and ex-General Tin U had attended the reception. The boycott did not show that they do not support the government, but that they do not agree with the prospect of the opposition and the military government having talks—something that is essential if elections are to be held.

Will the elections be held? If so, will they reflect the desire of the Burmese people? These are the questions that observers continue to ask. There are as yet many obstacles remaining on the path to elections. For instance, difficulties still exist in transport and communications. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi cannot yet state the exact number of members in her own party [passage indistinct].

Near East & South Asia

Voss Receives Afghan Parliamentary Delegation

LD1201041589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2213 GMT 11 Jan 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An Afghan parliamentary delegation led by Abawi, chairman of the Council of Representatives of the National Assembly of the Republic of Afghanistan, which is making an official visit to our country, had a conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet on 11 January. Comrade Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave the guests a detailed account of the reform of the political system that is being carried out in the USSR. It was noted that its main task is to enhance the role of local soviets in the social and political life of the country.

Abawi provided information about the activities of Afghanistan's national assembly. The new appearance of parliament in the republic—which it was stressed in the conversation, has become the body of coalition power—was the result of the national reconciliation policy being pursued in the country.

Afghan Official Holds New Delhi News Conference

LD0701223089 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] New Delhi January 8 TASS—A top Afghan official called on opposition forces to give up violence and take part in democratic elections of a new government of Afghanistan.

Najmuddin Ashgar Kawiani, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party, staying here at the invitation of the Indian Government, voiced the hope that the opposition will take a constructive stand and cease the needless bloodshed.

Kawiani said at a news conference in New Delhi that the national reconciliation policy of the Afghan Government is based on political reason and goodwill.

He also said that Islamabad continues rendering large-scale military assistance to Afghan opposition groups.

Pakistan not only hosts Afghan refugee camps. Rebels undergo military training there and it is from there that they get more and more up-to-date weapons despite numerous assurances by the Pakistani side of its adherence to implementation of the Geneva accords, the representative of the Afghan Government said.

Afghan Rebel Internecine Fighting Reported

LD1101115089 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 11 TASS—Afghan Army units carried out a number of successful operations against armed opposition groups in Qandahar, Nangarhar and Herat Provinces and Khowst District on Tuesday, killing dozens of extremists.

They also captured large amounts of weapons, including rocket launchers and mortars, as well as ammunition and discovered and blew up several secret supply stores.

BAKHTAR News Agency reported internecine fighting between rival extremist groups in Qandahar, Konduz, Ghazni and Zabol Provinces, in which more than 100 people were killed or wounded.

Extremists exploded a bomb on one of Herat's central bazaars several days ago, killing one person and injuring seven others. The blast caused damage to nearby structures, which is estimated at 20 million afghanis.

A commission led by Afghan Vice-President 'Abdurrahim Hatif has been formed on instructions from President Najibullah to step up the drive against theft and economic sabotage. At its first meeting the commission decided to organize efficient day-to-day control over the distribution of food.

Afghan Rebels Seen as Wanting War To Continue

LD1101192289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Report by Kabul correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] Despite all the efforts of the current Afghanistan leadership to find peaceful ways to solve the internal Afghan conflict, the situation in the country is still

difficult. The opposition's extremist wing, which aspires to a monopoly of power, rejects the very idea of a peaceful settlement with the participation of other political parties and organizations. The second round of negotiations in Islamabad between Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy USSR foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, and the Afghan armed opposition leadership showed this clearly. As is known, the opposition's extremist wing earlier spoke out against the future participation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in administrating the country. Now it also opposes the participation of a number of opposition forces, including former regime figures, such as former King Zahir Shah.

All this suggests that the extremists do not want an end to the senseless bloodshed. Insofar as methods of warfare are concerned, they have changed noticeably in recent times. Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, said in a recent interview to the magazine (?MUJAHID), which is the press organ of this grouping, that now the mujahidin prefer not to reconnoiter Kabul and other major cities directly, but first to surround them densely and then to blockade all the remaining strongpoints and military bases, compelling the Kabul government thereby to surrender voluntarily. And yet the civilian population suffers the most from their actions.

Thus, recently, as a result of the capital's economic blockade, the prices of essential goods have risen several times. And it is impossible to buy at any price such foodstuffs as flour, lard, and butter: they simply do not exist in the bazaar. It is difficult to forecast future events in the country. In the meantime, only one thing is clear: It is no easy matter to settle the complex internal Afghan conflict peacefully.

Solton Comments on Pullout From Afghanistan

LD1101135589 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The situation in Afghanistan has aggravated indeed. The Afghan opposition entrenched in Pakistan turned away from the road of dialogue. It seems that the runaway ambitions of its leaders prevailed over common sense. They preferred fighting for power to negotiations. Nevertheless a political solution to the Afghan problem is practicable and attainable. I think, writes Yuriy Solton, that real life will force the Afghan opposition to alter its stance and realize that it has overestimated its potential. It is a profound delusion to believe that the Kabul government will fall as soon as Soviet troops leave Afghanistan. The current government has a platform attractive to many people in the country. It is backed by a considerable part of the population. Its equitable participation in governing the country, together with the other political forces, is indispensable. Sooner or later the opposition will have to reckon with this.

I have the impression, writes Yuriy Solton, that the decision of the Alliance of Seven to stop negotiations was not taken independently. In Tuesday's statement made by the U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman, it was said that the American posture, outlined last month in an official report issued by the State Department, remained unchanged. The report claimed that the fall of the current Kabul government is inevitable and that a new government should be formed in Afghanistan. It is also noteworthy that Washington turned aside from searching for a political solution to the Afghan problem.

In the meantime the United States continues to supply the opposition with weapons, which actually incites it to continue the bloodshed. Washington and Islamabad persist in violating the Geneva accords. It is natural that all this raises the question of the final phase of Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. The schedule stipulated by the Geneva accords provides for concluding the pull out by 15 February. However, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov told newsmen in Moscow on Tuesday that under certain circmstances the Soviet Union might find it impossible to do in the near future what it decided to do in principle. At the same time, Yuliy Vorontsov said that the Soviet Union leaves the door to negotiations open. Moscow is ready to continue to contribute to the efforts to conclude talks on a political settlement in Afghanistan quickly and successfully.

TASS Cites Al-Qadhdhafi on U.S. 'Terrorism'

LD0901114489 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Tripoli January 9 TASS—Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, accused the United States of perpetrating state terrorism. Addressing foreign and Libyan pressmen, he said that the Libyan Jamahiriyah was not the only victim of Washington's official terrorism. Subjected to it previously were Panama, Nicaragua, Cuba and Angola. Many people of the world suffer from American terrorism today, too. The American Administration, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi stressed, should realise that the policy of strength, threats, terrorism, aircraft-carriers and blockades has suffered a complete fiasco. The Libyan leader urged the United States to start a political dialogue and to settle all the outstanding problems through negotiations. Washington must put aside the big stick and start direct negotiations with Libya for the purpose of ensuring peace in the Mediterranean and all over the world. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi expressed the conviction that George Bush's administration was able to do it.

Academician on U.S. Anti-Libya 'Campaign'

JN1001091089 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 8 Jan 89 p 30

[By Salam Musafir from Moscow]

[Text] Many views and analyses agree that the U.S. campaign against Libya came at the request of Washington's strategic ally, Israel, and that this campaign is

creating a complicated situation in the region at a time when it is witnessing some progress, albeit limited, toward a settlement of the Middle East crisis and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Professor Aleksey Vasilyev, deputy director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and one of the most prominent Soviet experts on Arab affairs, says in a statement to AL-ANBA': Why has the campaign escalated now against Libya? This is a relevant, legitimate question. I believe that it came to achieve a balance in U.S. policy in the Middle East—that is, one hand extended to the PLO and the other threatening the Arabs to appease Israel.

He added: It is naive to believe that the Americans will easily give up using their old conventional methods, which are in their blood despite the improvement in the international climate. This is because the United States has the chronic disease of muscle flexing and acting like a cowboy in the international arena. On the other hand, I do not rule out that Reagan took this step in the last days of his term to give President-elect George Bush room for maneuver when he enters the White House, so he can either go ahead in this policy or abandon it, since it concerns his predecessor.

Professor Vasilyev, deputy director of the most important institute in Soviet political decisionmaking, indicated: The Middle East crisis clearly reveals that the United States has not and will not abandon its neoglobalist policy and U.S. political thinking changes only very slowly. If the United States deals a blow to Libya, its effect will be the reverse of what Washington expects. Such a blow will strengthen Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi's regime because it will lead to a popular rallying around him and will create Arab solidarity with the Libyan regime.

He said: If the United States calls on others to be civilized, it must act in a civilized manner in the international arena.

On the other hand, Professor Vasilyev dismisses the hypothesis mentioned in some diplomatic sources in the Soviet capital. According to this hypothesis, the campaign is aimed at testing Moscow's reaction to an aggressive action against a state friendly to the Soviet Union, one like Libya. He dismisses this hypothesis, saying in his statement to AL-ANBA': This hypothesis is false. If the United States had wanted to do that, it would have launched its campaign against the closest and most friendly countries to the Soviet Union, like Vietnam, Cuba, or even South Yemen. Therefore, this hypothesis lacks credibility. All that is present is a lack of civilized dealing between the United States and Libya. The campaign is aimed at intensifying the situation in the Middle East in implementation of an Israeli desire, as Israel is now being besieged by an international unanimity against its reckless, intransigent policy rejecting a peaceful solution to the crisis of the region.

Professor Vasilyev continued his statement to AL-ANBA': Despite the difficulty of foreseeing how things will develop and what will happen tomorrow or in a few hours, I believe that Washington will not execute its threats against Libya and will not deal a military blow to it. The situation today is different from that of 2 years ago when the Reagan administration bombarded Libyan territory amid a hysterical atmosphere prepared in advance by allegations of Al-Qadhdhafi's responsibility for the bombing of a discotheque in West Berlin. Now, Reagan and his administration have no excuses to convince U.S. public opinion of the need for military action against Libya. This is because their pretexts and allegations are unconvincing, especially since they are not believed by world public opinion. International companies charged with cooperation with Libya have stressed the weakness of the U.S. allegations that Libya produces chemical weapons.

Lebanese Ba'th Party Official Comments on Visit

LD0901152989 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Speaking at a meeting held at the Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, Kasem Kanso [name as received], head of a delegation of the Lebanese Ba'th party and its secretary general, said that the meeting held on Monday would initiate serious work for the sake of mutual understanding and a political dialogue between the Lebanese Ba'th Party and the Soviet Communist Party. On the Soviet side the meeting was attended by board members of the USSR-Lebanon Society. Representatives of the Lebanese Ba'th Party came to the USSR for the first time. They had been invited by the Soviet Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee.

Sergey Tsavro, executive secretary of the USSR-Lebanon Friendship Society, told the guests about the organisation's activities. In 1989 Lebanon will hold the days of friendship where the USSR will be represented by the society's members from Uzbekistan. Apart from this, three fine arts exhibitions describing the Soviet Union's life will be opened.

Kasem Kanso described the party's activities in the drive to consolidate the country's national patriotic forces. He voiced support for the Palestinian uprising on the Israeli-occupied territories.

IZVESTIYA on Latest Lebanese Fighting

PM1101123489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by B. Ivanov in Moscow and V. Lashkul in Beirut: "Lebanon: The Rumble of Guns Again"]

[Text] The rumble of the artillery cannonade continues unabated in Lebanon. In a number of regions of the country fierce clashes continue between military formations of the "Amal" movement and the pro-Iranian "Hizballah" organization, engaged in the old struggle for leadership in Lebanon's Shi'ite community.

Reports like that have long since ceased to be sensational in this Arab country torn by intercommunal strife. Last year alone, Hizballah fighters and Amal supporters several times held "trials of strength" using rocket and cannon artillery, heavy mortars, and other combat hardware.

The present internecine conflict began with small clashes in the southern suburbs of West Beirut on the very eve of 1989, developing in a matter of hours into bloody fighting, and rapidly spreading to regions of Southern Lebanon. Since then the clashes have virtually never stopped—first they die down, then they flare up again. There are many women and children among the casualties. Once again, as before, the residential districts of the Lebanese capital have suffered as a result of artillery shellings. Only the heavy rain that fell last week prevented the outbreak of fires. It is reported that tens of thousands of Lebanese, fleeing from the shellings, left the suburbs and headed for the western sector of Beirut, seeking to find at least temporary refuge there.

In recent days, thanks to the mediation efforts of the command of the Syrian troops which form part of the pan-Arab peacekeeping forces in Lebanon, buffer zones have been created along the lines of confrontation between the warring parties in the Beirut suburbs. But a complete cease-fire has not yet been achieved.

The situation in southern Lebanon remains extremely tense. As a REUTER correspondent reports, last Sunday and Monday, as a result of fierce fighting, Amal detachments succeeded in completely encircling the region of Iqlim al-Tuffah, which is occupied by Hizballah fighters. This place has become the main center of the bloodshed. In the last 24 hours Amal supporters carried out a massive artillery and rocket shelling of their adversaries' positions in the settlements of 'Ayn Bu Siwar and Jabal Safi. According to an Amal spokesman these villages were basically the only remaining Hizballah strong points in the region. The previous day the Amal supporters won back from their Shi'ite rivals the villages of Kafr-Milki, Kafr-Hatta, and Kafr-Fila.

Reporting on the situation in Southern Lebanon, a UPI correspondent (who is actually in the area of hostilities) notes that according to preliminary figures, in 10 days of clashes 104 people have been killed and 211 wounded.

Protest demonstrations have taken place in many settlements in the south of the country against the bloodshed, whose victims are mainly civilians. In the last 24 hours more than 15,000 people have left their homes, adding to the already huge army of Lebanese refugees.

The main intermediaries in the quest for a cease-fire between the two Shi'ite groupings, Syria and Iran, express serious concern about the present conflict. In an attempt to obtain a truce, Iranian First Deputy Foreign Minister 'Ali Muhammad Besharati has set off from Iran for Damascus, where he is expected to hold a series of meetings with representatives of the Syrian leadership to discuss means of achieving a cease-fire.

Meanwhile, another influential envoy from Tehran, Mahmud Rafsanjani, brother of 'Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, arrived in Beirut. He held confidential meetings with Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, spiritual leader of Hizballah, and Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, vice president of the Supreme Shi'ite Council. It was later announced that the participants in the talks agreed that "every means must be used to stop the bloodshed."

Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has also offered his help in settling the Shi'ite confrontation. According to IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Beirut, several combat subunits of the Palestinian organization Fatah have been sent into the fighting zone in the south of the country. Y. 'Arafat's intention is that they will occupy positions between the warring parties and thereby "separate" them.

However, neither Amal nor Hizballah has yet responded in any way to the Palestinian leader's initiative.

The artillery duels between Amal and Hizballah continue with their former force. Nor is tension declining in the western sector of the Lebanese capital. Yesterday Syrian troops had great difficulty in extinguishing a new flareup of hostilities—this time in the region of the Iranian cultural center and Burj Abi Haydar Street.

Judging by a report in Syria's AL-THAWRAH, Tel Aviv intends to warm its hands at the present situation. One has the impression, the newspaper believes, that the Israelis are preparing for a new operation against Lebanon.

Fresh troop subunits and tank units are being sent into the so-called "security zone" created by Tel Aviv on Lebanese territory. Israel, AL-THAWRAH writes, is planning to take advantage of the the American military presence in the Mediterranean having been stepped up, and the tension created by the United States over Libya, to undertake further armed action against the Lebanese people.

On 9 January the Israelis, together with their puppets in the "army of Southern Lebanon," stormed the settlements of 'Ayta al-Sha'b and Shwayya and, on the pretext of looking for weapons and ammunition, carried out mass searches and interrogations of local inhabitants. In the central and eastern parts of the "security zone," the occupying forces "combed" the locality. Eleven people were arrested. Israeli artillery shelled the South Lebanese settlements of Haris and Dallafah in the last 24 hours.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Namibian Settlement on Track as Cubans Withdraw

PM1201094189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by M. Pavlov in Moscow, A. Kamorin in Havana under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Cuban Servicemen Return Home"]

[Excerpts] On 11 January 450 Cuban servicemen, who had been giving international assistance to Angola, arrived in Havana where they were met by R. Castro, the Cuban defense minister. [passage omitted]

General Ulises Rosales del Toro, first deputy minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, told our correspondent in Havana about the conditions for the Cuban soldiers' return home:

"The agreements make provision for the withdrawal of our forces, which currently total 50,000 men, from the People's Republic of Angola within 27 months. The return operation was to have been carried out as of 1 April, but we have embarked on it ahead of schedule. It is to be completed by 1 July 1991. This is the shortest reasonable period necessary to safeguard security. The withdrawal of forces is to be carried out in four phases. During the first 7-month period 22,000 of our officers and men will leave the People's Republic of Angola. This means that the Cuban contingent will be reduced by 50 percent. The other stages are planned in such a way as to ensure that a combat-capable military grouping capable of rebutting any attempt to thwart the implementation of the agreements remains in Angola to the last day."

News is arriving from all parts of Cuba about preparations in cities, settlements, and villages to welcome the compatriots returning from Angola. It will be a great festival, a festival of peace and courage.

"The shipment of Cuban officers and men from Angola to their homeland will be carried out in subunits and units together with their heavy combat hardware," Antonio dos Santos Franca, chief of the General Staff of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), adds to the account of the Cuban general. "At present the roads necessary for the redeployment to the north are lacking, and the necessary structures have to be set up. All this will require an expenditure of some $800 million and Angola has therefore asked for international assistance."

However, despite material difficulties, Angola is doing everything in its power to fully implement the New York agreements on a settlement in South-West Africa. This is borne out by the decision made by Cuba and the People's Republic of Angola to send 3,000 Cubans home in the period before 1 April—the date set for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia—as a goodwill gesture. As mentioned earlier, the remaining Cuban units will leave Angola in accordance with the agreed timetable. Their departure will be overseen by a UN mission set up at the request of Cuba and Angola which will comprise 70 officers and 20 civilians from 10 countries.

All observers agree that to ensure the successful implementation of the New York agreements it is necessary to end interference in Angola's internal affairs, especially on the part of the United States and the RSA. Judging by reports from Pretoria, it has discontinued assistance to the anti-Angolan National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] groups. According to a UPI report, the government broadcasting corporation in Johannesburg welcomed the withdrawal of the first group of Cuban forces noting that "all parties to the agreements must abide by their provisions, which means among other things that Angola must end its assistance to organizations which operate against the RSA regime." As is well known, by this Pretoria is referring above all to the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. O. Tambo, the organization's president, announced a few days ago in Lusaka that the ANC will withdraw its military forces from the People's Republic of Angola. A. dos Santos Franca, chief of the FAPLA General Staff, confirmed O. Tambo's statement but noted that Angola is not giving up political support from this national liberation movement.

According to the general view, the process of the settlement in southwest Africa is picking up quite a good momentum. However, there are also reports that evoke alarm. Specifically, according to information by the REUTER agency, Pretoria is trying to exert influence on the upcoming elections in Namibia. According to N. Kapuka, representative of the South-West African People's Organization in Zimbabwe, the RSA is granting UNITA members Namibian citizenship. Jesse Jackson, the U.S. public figure, who visited a number of countries in southern Africa has also accused Pretoria of issuing UNITA members with Namibian identity cards.

According to the news agency, the Pretoria authorities have settled part of that grouping under the guise of Namibian refugees in the Caprivi Strip in the north of Namibia. The aim that is being pursued is continued support for UNITA which continues to act against the interests of the Angolan people. Washington too is acting against common sense. Having played a substantial role as a mediator during the negotiations, it has not renounced support for UNITA. According to an ANGOP report, the United States granted military aid in excess of $50 million to the leader of this grouping J. Savimbi at the end of 1988. It was U.S. weapons in the hands of the bandits that killed or wounded more than 40,000 Angolans.

African National Congress Opens Mission in Moscow

EA1201035689 Nairobi KNA in English 1910 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Lusaka, 9th Jan (PANA)—The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa has opened a diplomatic mission in Moscow to coincide with the 7th anniversary of the founding of the liberation movement.

According to a dispatch by the NOVOSTI Press Agency released in Lusaka, the opening ceremony at the weekend was attended by the deputy director of the Institute of Africa at the Academy of Sciences in the Soviet Union, Gleb Starushenko, member of the Executive Committee of the ANC, Dan Toloome, and the ANC ambassador to the Soviet Union, Simon Makana. The ANC mission will enjoy full diplomatic status. The ANC is the main force in the struggle for a free democratic South Africa.

Dan Toloome, who went to Moscow especially for the ceremony, thanked the Soviet Union for its unflinching support for anti-apartheid fighters in southern Africa. ANC representative Makana said the opening of a mission was a mere formality since relations between the ANC and the Soviet Union dated back to the 30's when the first delegation of ANC cadres visited that country.

"Beginning with the 60's, the ANC's contacts with the Soviet side have been permanent and kept growing from year to year. Many black South Africans have graduated from Soviet educational establishments," Makana said.

CPSU Delegation Departs for Seychelles

PM1001150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by Yu.N. Prokopyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Yakutsk CPSU Obkom, left 9 January for the Seychelles in accordance with the protocol on cooperation between the CPSU and the Seychelles People's Progressive Front.

East Europe

Party, State Leadership of SFRY Republic Resigns

LD1101180489 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 11 TASS—Today the top party and state leadership of Montenegro have submitted their resignations. Montenegro is one of the six consitutent republics of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

According to a TANJUG NEWS AGENCY report, the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of that republic as well as President of Montenegro Parliament Velisav Vaksanovic submitted their collective resignation.

The TANJUG NEWS AGENCY reported the resignation of the Presidium of the republican conference of the socialist union of the working people of Montenegro, the largest of the mass affiliation public and political organisations of the republic.

These resignations are the result of a protest meeting which is in its second day in Titograd, capital of Montenegro. The protest participants demanded resignation of all the leaders of the republic's bodies guilty of a deterioration of the republic's economic situation.

The political situation in Montenegro as well as the question of convening an early congress of the League of Communists of the republic will be examined by today's plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro.

SFRY Press Cited on Effects of Inflation

PM1101150689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov report: "Who Will Stop Inflation? Prices of Many Types of Goods and Services Increased in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Belgrade—The main topic in all Yugoslav newspapers and journals is the unprecedented inflation which is fatally damaging the economy and robbing the broadest masses of the working people. In the past year, they are writing, it increased by 300 percent. Unless urgent measures are taken inflation could reach 500 percent by the end of 1989.... And that means nothing less than the destruction of the country's entire credit and financial system.

What are the reasons for this socioeconomic disaster that has struck Yugoslavia? They were perhaps most succinctly expressed by the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES in a recent issue: "A gross violation of the most important principle of the socialist society—distribution of income according to the end results of labor." To put it more clearly, a kind of competition is under way between prices and wages. The state, not reckoning with the objective laws of the market economy on which the "Yugoslav model of socialism" is based, continually increases prices for goods and services; labor collectives, among which the number of unprofitable enterprises has risen considerably, increase wages often without any grounds for doing so, not even in terms of the indicator of the growth of labor productivity. And prices are rising considerably more rapidly than wages. Hence the unprecedented decline in the living standard of the population, especially the less well-off strata, including pensioners, students, and, naturally, the army of a million unemployed. TANJUG recently issued a report that around two-thirds of workers can barely make ends meet, because their wages grow "thinner" every day.

Today it is easier to name those goods and services for which rates and prices have not been increased. Increases have been announced for January for apartment rents (by approximately 140 percent), water rates (60 percent), and telephones, and prices have increased for medical supplies and bread products, not to mention television sets and cars. I have in front of me a recent issue of the newspaper VECERNJI NOVOSTI. The news

is far from good. In Belgrade's "Centroprom" stores prices have just been increased (by between 20 and 70 percent) for 958 items. Sales personnel in many self-service stores claim that they have virtually no goods left that have not had their price labels changed in the days since the New Year. Wines and spirits have doubled in price. But who cares? In Yugoslavia they do not drink much, and there is virtually no struggle against alcoholism. But when the price of fruit juice doubles—the main drink for children in the vitamin-poor winter season—this causes unfeigned anger among parents.

Blow after blow is hitting the family budget. And people are protesting in the most acute social forms. More than half a million people went on strike in Yugoslavia in the first 10 months of last year, according to statistics. That is 15 percent more than in the corresponding period of 1987. What is the attitude to strikes in the SFRY? The weekly NIN, reporting that the right to strike was only recently written into the country's Constitution, writes: "...The time of strikes has come for Yugoslavia." But the working people strike not against socialist self-management, but against state bureaucracy and the dominance of politicians in the economic sphere.

In an interview for the newspapers BORBA, DELO, and OSLOBODJENJE Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, speaking about the difficulties the country is experiencing, stated: "It is not a question of Yugoslavia's existence, but of what Yugoslavia should be tomorrow.... The Yugoslavia of tomorrow is a strategic victory for socialist self-management over state socialism as a condition of further democratization and equality between the nationalities of our society."

And let us add that the struggle against inflation has a major place in that victory. The most uncompromising, most urgent struggle.

Hungary's Varkonyi Urges 'Speediest' Disarmament

PM1101170089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 8 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi by Aleksandr Popov: "We're Prepared To Become A Disarmament Range"—date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Budapest—Peter Varkonyi, Politbureau Member of the HSWP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, comments on the initiatives Mikhail Gorbachev forwarded at the UN on December 7.

[Varkonyi] Every sane person today realizes that there's only one way to reach a durable peace—by rejecting the arms race which is leaving humanity innnervated. Therefore, the interests of our country, as do the interests of all peace-loving countries, demand the speediest possible disarmament in Europe. In its desire for disarmament the Hungarian People's Republic enjoys support from the USSR and all the Warsaw Treaty countries. We would like Hungary to turn into a sort of a "disarmament range".

As for the most urgent tasks, it is necessary, above all, to break the ice of non-understanding between East and West.

You see, a paradoxical situation has taken shape, when each side was waiting for the other one to make the first step. Taking account of the situation in the world, the socialist countries took that step. We hope that our activities would serve as an example, which will be emulated by all the countries of the world.

The Warsaw Treaty members aspire for a reduction in the attack capability of each country due to arms reductions. In short, we took the first practical step from the principle of superarmaments towards the principle of adequate defence.

I like the logic of the Soviet policy—to carry out disarmament if this doesn't threaten the security of one's own country. It seems to me that the NATO countries—if they really wish for disarmament in Europe and a liquidation of the imbalance in arms—must, at long last, also follow this logic. We are now waiting, with all good reason, for similar unilateral steps from the NATO countries. Such steps by the West could serve as a good impulse for strengthening peace on Earth. I'd like to believe that the whole series of unilateral initiatives offered by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries would have a favourable influence on arms reducation talks and would strengthen confidence in the relations between our states.

Latin America & Caribbean

First Group of Cuban Soldiers Returns From Angola

LD1101135789 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 11 TASS—The first group of Cuban troops in the People's Republic of Angola arrived on Tuesday here. The aircraft from Luanda, carrying 150 men and officers, was welcomed at Havana's Jose Marti International Airport by Army General Raul Castro, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, first deputy chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, minister of the revolutionary armed forces, other party and government leaders, representatives of the Cuban public.

The soliders are the first of the 3,000 Cuban servicemen to be withdrawn from Angolan territory as a goodwill gesture from Cuba before April 1, 1989, when Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council on granting independence to Namibia will take effect.

Nicaraguan Officials Cited on Contra Activity

PM1101171989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[APN Correspondent A. Korzin "Reportage From Nicaragua" for PRAVDA: "Tense Daily Existence"]

[Text] Nicaragua is continuing to live a troubled life. Every day reports come in of the clashes that have become more frequent between the contras and units of the Sandinist People's Army [EPS]. The contras' gangs are violating the agreement on the cessation of offensive operations introduced unilaterally by the EPS.

I recently visited Chinandega Department, the settlement of Cinco Pinos—4 km from the border with Honduras from which the main danger of aggression emanates. The settlement's population, united in armed detachments, is preparing in earnest to repel a possible massive invasion by the contras.

"We have a dangerous neighbor," Genri Maradiara [name as transliterated], mayor of Cinco Pinos, says. "Life has taught us to be ready for everything. Over 40 of our people have died defending the settlement. With the soldiers we will again occupy the trenches if necessary. All of us—women, old men, and children—know how to handle a submachine gun."

Border guard Lieutenant Roberto Olivas added that the contras' main forces are concentrated close to the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. They rely on support from 2,500 servicemen of the Honduran army which for the first time has brought heavy artillery up to the border. According to the figures of the Nicaraguan Defense Ministry, since October last year the Honduran troops have opened fire on the EPS border posts on 40 occasions. Flights over the border regions by U.S. reconnaissance aircraft have become more frequent. Detachments of contras are infiltrating Nicaraguan territory and terrorizing the local population.

Recently one contras faction, headed by Alfredo Cesar, suggested a new round of talks to the Sandinist government. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, without rejecting the proposal, made a counterproposal: "The so-called moderates...claim that they are in favor of talks. They want to see a program of democratization. We suggest that they accept an amnesty and return to our country and learn what democracy is."

In an interview with Soviet journalists in Managua, President D. Ortega stated that right now the possibility is virtually ruled out of dialogue with the armed opposition, which is a "political corpse." Division rules in the contras' leadership and each grouping is trying to put forward its own "proposals for resuming dialogue." But they are aimed merely at gaining political capital.

"Nicaragua's foes are also seeking to use for subversive ends the economic crisis and the masses' dissatisfaction with the declining living standard," Rogelio Ramirez, one of the leaders of the Sandinist majority in the national assembly (the country's parliament), explained to me. "In this game they are trying to push the opposition and the Catholic church to the fore. And the contras will serve as a reserve option in case the opposition does not achieve success."

Rogelio Ramirez backs up his words with figures. In fiscal 1986-1987 "the national fund in support of democracy"—one of the main American donors supporting the Sandinists' foes—gave the opposition parties $250,000. The next year this sum was already $800,000. In 1988-1989 it more than doubled—to $2 million.

The opposition, which reacts sensitively to any changes in the political and economic situation in and around the country, is trying to maneuver, groping around for bridgeheads for attacking the Sandinist government. What are its chances? I asked Rafael Solis, secretary of the republic's national assembly, to answer this question.

"I would not exaggerate the strength of the opposition, although it is also dangerous to underestimate it," he said. "Our foes are divided—that is their main weakness."

As is well known, the dialogue was unilaterally broken off by the opposition in April last year in connection with the government's refusal to discuss the constitutional reforms proposed by the "bloc of 14," which essentially meant the revision of the country's first democratic constitution, adopted 2 years ago. Now the opposition is not insisting on the fulfillment of demands for constitutional reforms and is expressing the readiness to resume dialogue.

The Sandinist government is making great efforts to meet it. A fresh example of this was the decision to extend the operation of the amnesty law to July 1989. Under the law contras who surrender are forgiven everything and given the opportunity to merge into civilian life.

Thus, in a tense daily existence present-day Nicaragua is seeking ways to further develop and restore peace.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets on 'Urgent' Issues

LD1201083589 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—A regular meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, opened in the Kremlin on Thursday. The agenda includes urgent state questions.

Special Administration Set for NKAO

LD1201152289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, has deemed it expedient to temporarily introduce a special form of administration [osobaya forma upravleniya] in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast while preserving the status of Nagorno-Karabakh as an autonomous oblast within the composition of the Azerbaijan SSR. A decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on this matter will be published in the press.

This decision was adopted today at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with account being taken of proposals by party and state bodies of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSRs and also a commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and also for the purposes of averting a further exacerbation of relations between nationalities and of stabilizing the situation in the region.

Electoral Commission Registers Gorbachev, Politburo

LD1201033689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has become an important event in the life of the country. It nominated candidates for USSR people's deputies from the CPSU.

On 11 January, there was a meeting of the electoral commission for elections of USSR people's deputies at which statements of consent to stand as candidate deputies from the CPSU were considered.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo were registered unanimously.

Among those registered are workers, kolkhoz workers, and representatives of the intelligentsia from all union republics. For example, senior shepherd (byshekeyevo) from Issyk-Kul Oblast, the writer Vasilyev; Lieutenant General Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy minister of defense; Kemerovo Oblast miner Gvozdev; and Academician Marchuk have become candidates for the country's people's deputies from the CPSU.

The work of the commission in registering candidates is continuing. The make-up of the candidates for the USSR people's deputies from the CPSU will be published in the press.

Moldavian Party Secretary Arrested for Corruption

PM1201114589 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 January 1989 carries on page 4 under the headline "After the Sentence: The 'Grandee's' Rise and Fall" a 2,500-word article by Yevgeniy Dodolev about the abuses committed by A. Karimov, former first secretary of the Bukhara Uzbek Communist Party Obkom, his subsequent arrest and trial, and his links with Brezhnev's son-in-law Churbanov, recently sentenced to 12 years for accepting bribes.

The article ends with the following paragraph:

"...Meanwhile, while Churbanov and Co. were being tried, the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group headed by T.Kh. Gdlyan continued its work to clear up the accretions of the years of stagnation. Valuables confiscated from the accused were paid into the state treasury, and criminal proceedings for bribery were instituted against I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; A.U. Salimov, former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and three former party obkom first secretaries. Among them was I. Dzhabbarov, former member of the CPSU Central Committee and delegate to the 19th party conference, who replaced Abduvakhid Karimov as first secretary of the Bukhara party obkom in January 1984. No opposition is any longer capable of halting the cleansing process or the restoration of the principles of social justice."

An unattributed "Stop Press" footnote to the article reads:

"V.I. Smirnov, hitherto second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, was arrested in Moscow yesterday in connection with the 'Uzbek affair.' Like I. Dzhabbarov, he also was a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference."

Azerbaijan, Armenia Leaders Meet in Moscow

LD1101180689 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A broad range of issues related to the normalisation of the situation in the region was examined by the Azerbaijanian and Armenian leaders at a meeting in the Soviet capital. The meeting was attended by the first secretaries of the

Central Committees of the two Communist Parties—Abdul-Rahman Vezirov and Suren Arutyunyan, presidents of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets—Suley man Tatliyev and Grant Voskanyan, chairmen of the Councils of Ministers—Gasan Seidov and Fadey Sarkisyan, and second secretaries of the Central Committees of the parties—Viktor Polyanichko and Yuriy Kochetkov.

It was noted at the meeting that the instability of the situation requires an urgent adoption of active measures. In this connection the meeting examined specific proposals on coordination of efforts with a view to normalising the inter-ethnic relations and restoring the traditional links and friendship between the two fraternal peoples.

Of especial importance at the present stage is to secure the return of resettled persons to the places of their permanent residence. In this work it is necessary to make active use of the joint appeal of the leadership of the two republics calling on the Azerbaijanian and Armenian families to return to their homes and to back up the work with practical steps and with reliable guarantees of securing for the people.

The need was stressed for establishing contacts between party, Soviet and economic bodies and public organisations of Azerbaijan and Armenia at different levels.

Special attention was given to the need to combat rumours and ill-intentioned misinformation. The leaders of the two republics noted that a crucial time has come when not only a particular turn of events in Azerbaijan and Armenia but also the destinies of restructuring as a whole and the process of a revolutionary renovation of Soviet society will largely depend on energetic and purposeful actions. Our common duty is, in this time of trial, to defend internationalism and the unshakable belief that only in the fraternal family of all our peoples shall we be able to ensure progress of our society and the wellbeing of its citizens.

Six Men Freed From Leninakan Rubble After 35 Days

LD1201150189 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 12 TASS—Six people were pulled alive from wreckage in Leninakan on the 35th day after the devastating earthquake.

The six men were freed from under the debris of a nine-storey apartment house on January 11 after more than a month in its basement.

Aikaz Akopyan, 50, told TASS: "On the day of the quake I asked five neighbours to help me bring two heavy wooden kegs from the basement. We were down there when we suddenly heard a terrible noise and the walls began to collapse. I thought a war had started."

The six found themselves trapped in the basement. Karen Sarkisyan's arm was broken and Akopyan, well versed in the art of folk healing, massaged the arm to relieve the pain.

The six did not have to worry about food and drink: there were many jugs with pickles and stewed fruit and vegetables in the basement.

"Still, we used the food sparingly. But we did not doubt for a minute that we would be found and rescued," said Akopyan.

The six are now in a hospital in Yerevan. According to doctors, their condition is satisfactory.

Armenian AES Closure Calls for 'Tough' Economizing

PM1201094989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report "From the Scene of the Event" by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and S. Taranov: "Armenian AES Closes"]

[Text] Yerevan—The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted the resolution "On the Shutdown of the Reactor Units of the Armenian AES and Measures To Ensure Power Supplies to the Transcaucasian Republics."

Since the earthquake of 7 December there probably has not been such an acute and disputed issue as the fate of the Armenian AES. It is of concern to literally everyone—from housewives to ministers. People who have never taken an interest in nuclear power are asking: What would have happened to Armenia and to the whole of the Transcaucasus if the epicenter of the underground storm had been closer to the nuclear station? It is terrible even to imagine the consequences of that. However, specialists who inspected the station during the first days after 7 December detected no deviations.

Nevertheless, it was decided to shut down the AES. The original date planned was 1990. But that satisfied few people. Now the USSR Council of Ministers, taking account of the general seismic situation in Armenia and the proposal of the republic Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers, the Interdepartmental Scientific and Technical Council for Questions of Nuclear Power, and the country's Academy of Sciences, has resolved to halt the working of the Armenian AES earlier than that. The station's first reactor unit will cease working as early as 25 February 1989, and the second on 18 March.

A number of departments involved with nuclear power are to elaborate additional measures to ensure the safety of the shut-down units and enhance the earthquakeproof qualities of the Armenian AES's buildings and structures, and they are to ensure their implementation this year.

Does the shutdown of the AES threaten a shortage in the generation of electricity? The way to compensate for losses is to make tough economies in electricity and reduce power consumption by all enterprises and organizations in Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan regardless of their departmental subordination. For example, many plants and factories will go over to a continuous work week involving moving days off and the start and end of work shifts, and it has been decided to repair the most energy-intensive equipment in the winter. Restrictions will also be introduced in the sphere of municipal and every-day services.

In the first half of 1989 a feasibility study will be made with regard to converting the Armenian AES into a thermal electric power station. A significant point: Its main fuel will be natural gas. Yet not even this measure will resolve all the problems with the region's power supply. This is why the country's government has decided to accelerate the commissioning of the first two reactor units of the Rostov AES, and it is proposed to complete repairs to the 200,000-kilowatt power unit at the Razdan GRES. Many other power stations in the Transcaucasian republics will also be modernized over 3 years.

The resolution points out that the USSR Council of Ministers considers the fulfillment of these and other targets connected with the shutdown and conversion of the Armenian AES a particularly important state task. The leaders of the corresponding ministries and departments bear personal responsibility for carrying out the work within strictly set times.

Civil Defense Work in Armenia Described

PM1201084989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 31 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Army General V.L. Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister and civil defense chief, by own correspondent V. Alaverdyan: "Civil Defense: Days and Nights"—date and place of interview not given, first two paragraphs are KOMMUNIST introduction]

[Text] When the natural disaster struck the north of Armenia, units and nonparamilitary formations of civil defense were the first to come to the assistance of the earthquake victims. Through days and nights, snow, and cold weather, heedless of time or difficulties, they worked nonstop in order to keep the toll of the earthquake as low as possible, in order to pull out survivors from the ruins of collapsed buildings, give them first aid, clothe and feed them, and provide them with shelter.

Today too, when the first stage of the work is drawing to an end, the civil defense forces and services carry on their selfless work. Our correspondent V. Alaverdyan met with Army General V.L. Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister and civil defense chief and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Alaverdyan] Vladimir Leonidovich, having walked through the offices of the Armenian SSR civil defense headquarters, I saw how hard your staff there is working. What tasks are civil defense forces currently attending to on the territory of the republic?

[Govorov] There is only one task. To ease, as far as this is possible, the lot of the people who have suffered in the earthquake and to eliminate, as swiftly as possible, the consequences of the devastation caused by the earthquake. Some 23,000 USSR Defense Ministry personnel, 2,500 trucks, and 650 units of engineering and other equipment have been brought in for this purpose. In addition to the troops, nonparamilitary civil defense formations totaling 18,000 people and 1,800 units of equipment are taking part in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in the stricken area. They operate in close contact with the troops.

[Alaverdyan] What are the results of these efforts?

[Govorov] People are working in extreme conditions and in an unorthodox situation. In such cases what counts is efficient organization and the heroism of the people who are doing their utmost. In the course of the 3 weeks civil defense forces, together with other organizations and agencies, have pulled 39,553 people from the rubble, of whom 15,254 were alive. Obstructions have been cleared, structures and materials have been pulled down and carted away, approach roads have been cleared, work is under way in preparation for the demolition of damaged residential houses and industrial installations. In all some 300,000 cubic meters of rubble have been shifted.

Ministry of Defense railroad troops are working together with the Ministry of Railways to restore traffic on the Leninakan Kirovakan section. Military transport aircraft have flown 1,047 trips during this time in the course of which 14,400 personnel, 59 tractors, 1,163 huts, 7,504 tents, 679 tonnes of medical supplies, 1,232 tonnes of food, and 2,500 tonnes of other cargo were transported. Unloading is carried out by troops at Leninakan and Yerevan airports.

[Alaverdyan] This indicates that much is being done to support life in the stricken area. Irrespective of the magnitude of the disaster, irrespective of the grief which has sapped people's strength—almost every family has lost a near or dear one—life in the region which was struck by the natural disaster goes on.

[Govorov] Dostoyevskiy claimed that three-fourths of human happiness are to be found in the family and only one-fourth elsewhere. When I visited the stricken area, I was able to see for myself the perceptiveness of this observation by the great writer. And I did not see a single rescue worker who was not giving his all in order to help the victims. This factor played a decisive role in the provision of life-support services in the northern parts of the republic.

Over the past 3 weeks 4 bathing and laundry trains and 31 disinfection and shower facilities were installed in the area, more than 24,500 military tents, 10,500 stoves, 3,000 pairs of boots, 2,000 padded jackets and trousers, 10,000 gloves, and 5,000 hats were issued to the population.

Special attention is being paid to the provision of medical services for the populations and servicemen. This is done via 3 hospitals in Yerevan, Spitak, and Leninakan and 10 medical companies deployed in the disaster area. Two sanitary and epidemiological laboratories and a sanitary and epidemiological detachment have been set up to carry out sanitary supervision.

It is well known that the earthquake disrupted communications in almost all parts of the stricken area. Signal troops have set up 21 field communication centers and 1,350 km of radio relay, tropospheric, and cable communication lines to ensure the direction of rescue and restoration operations. In order to assist the republic Ministry of Communications, a temporary connection with 35 destroyed villages in Spitakskiy rayon and Leninakan has been established using radio and radio relay facilities. Seven line teams have been set up. Deliveries of mail have been organized by the military courier mail service along 11 routes covering 54 population centers.

As you can see the range of work that has been carried out is wide and will expand further as time goes on. Corresponding measures to this effect are already being taken.

[Alaverdyan] Judging by the information which you have given, the main attention has been focused on the cities. The efforts of the civil defense service seemed to bypass rural areas. Yet 58 villages were completely destroyed in the earthquake, and hundreds of villages were partially destroyed. What measures are being taken to assist the stricken villages?

[Govorov] It is true that during the first few days the cities were at the focus of our attention. This is natural because large numbers of people are concentrated in cities. But as time went on the center of gravity of the relief effort shifted to villages.

The troops, in cooperation with the republic Gosagroprom, have inspected 403 population centers in 17 rural rayons. The actual state of affairs in rural areas was established, the local leadership was given practical assistance in the organization of operations to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, and the population was briefed on the situation in the republic and the measures that are being taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government to eliminate the consequences of the natural disaster.

More than 26,000 head of livestock have been buried. Trailer homes and prefabricated panelboard housing components continue to arrive in rural areas. More than 150 of the 890 planned small houses have already been delivered and erected in the stricken area.

[Alaverdyan] Would you say that there still are bottlenecks in the work that is being carried out in the disaster area?

[Govorov] Yes, in my opinion the composition of a number of civil defense units whose staff has been reduced makes it impossible to deploy them swiftly to ensure the solution of designated tasks to the full extent. And this is impermissible in an emergency situation.

The provision of civil defense units with technical facilities—special equipment, highly effective instruments, and small-scale means of mechanization—must be improved to enable them to carry out the whole range of operations.

[Alaverdyan] Yet their efficiency is, after all, determined by the promptness of administrative and executive operations. It has been claimed that civil defense did not function efficiently enough precisely in this respect.

[Govorov] There is, of course, a grain of truth in these claims. The problem is that the people who have voiced these claims, without suspecting it, are criticizing their own sluggishness. The structure of civil defense is as follows. At the top of the pyramid is the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, below him is the republic civil defense headquarters, followed by the individual services headed by ministers. On the next rung are plants, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes headed by directors or chairmen, who have chiefs of staff released for this purpose. So that when we say that civil defense is a nationwide concern, we really mean it, because all Soviet people take part in it. If we are going to speak about shortcomings in the performance of civil defense we must say that the reason lies in poor leaders who are not even aware that they are leaders.

[Alaverdyan] And the last question. What action will civil defense formations take in the future?

[Govorov] In the next few days search operations for victims will come to an end. Conditions for restoration and construction work to get under way will be created. We regard this work as the main task of the day. I am confident that the personnel of units and nonparamilitary formations of civil defense will display the same high level of discipline, organization, and courage in this work as in the rescue effort.

U.S. Congressmen Meet Sarkisyan in Yerevan

NC1201074889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 12 Jan 89

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] A U.S. congressional delegation arrived in Yerevan on 9 January. Armenian Council of Ministers Chairman Sarkisyan received the delegation the same day. He thanked the American parliamentarians for the help provided by the United States in the matter of eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. He informed the congressional delegation about the state of affairs in the rayons affected by the natural calamity. The report on the closing down of the Armenian atomic power station aroused particular interest among the Americans.

Lithuanian School Teaches Yiddish Language

LD1101115889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Summary] Karaolis Lamuzis, a Vilnius radio journalist, reported in the weekly feature program the way we live, that recently a Yiddish language course has been founded in Vilnius Motviejus Zoras, commenting on the state of the Yiddish language in Lithuania, said that before World War II Yiddish was widely spoken in Lithuania. After the war, teaching Yiddish was banned. Now many Jews are interested in the Yiddish language. This came as a result of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis, which advocates the rebirth of each national community in Lithuania.

The Yiddish and Ivrit language courses were organized last autumn. Zoras' classes are attended by 39 students, whose ages range from 16 to 60.

Estonia's Vyalyas on Moscow Criticisms

PM1101124789 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Dec 88 pp 1-3

[Report by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, at 21 December Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum: "On the Results of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum and the Republic Party Organization's Tasks To Implement Its Decisions"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At the last CPSU Central Committee plenum we were criticized, sometimes strongly criticized, for the amendments made to the republic's constitution. We were also criticized at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and partly at the Supreme Soviet session. My own speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the speeches by Comrade Ryuytel in the Supreme Soviet explained the reasons for the situation that has taken shape in the republic. We confirmed that we have primarily proceeded in our political initiatives from the general state aims of restructuring and the paramount needs of the republic. I dare hope that this information has been accepted. The businesslike, principled discussion at the CPSU Central Committee November plenum offered a great deal that is new for the steady continuation of the policy of restructuring. This is evidenced both by the plenum resolution as a whole and by the fourth point in this resolution, which states that particular importance at the next stage of the political reform will be given to clarifying certain constitutional norms of the Soviet Union's national-state structure. The point of departure in this area must be the party's course to broaden the rights of the union republics and autonomous formations and harmonize relations between the USSR and the union republics.

On the basis of present experience, we can say that deputies' activity on 16 November—which reflected the people's will—and the subsequent broad discussions in the republic have helped to focus attention on an all-union scale on the above relations, in which no one now denies the existence of many tangled issues. We have vigorously and determinedly opposed attempts by central departments to continue the centralization of power within the framework of the new reform. Our action has produced results in many ways. M.S. Gorbachev, for example, noted in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session that "we must see that it is right to raise many real issues faced by Estonia which need to be resolved. We must pay them the greatest possible attention, and the Estonian working people aand the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet must know that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium understands and shares their concern."

The union republics' real proposals, including our own, concerning the union draft laws were reflected in almost 40 amendments, which is in itself an appraisal of what has been done and attests to the advantage of a constructive line of action over rigid negation and agitated search for confrontation. We are all of us learning—the central bodies and we ourselves—both in peaceful, everyday work and in extreme circumstances.

If we self-critically analyze what has been done, we should admit that our actions on 16 November were rather hasty in part. Largely guided by our emotions and by the honest desire to act, we were less able to think about the possible repercussions of our decisions both in our own country and on an international level. We failed to correctly predict the fraternal republics' reaction to our steps. We did not foresee the opportunities we were giving to our opponents abroad to find nonexistent—I emphasize nonexistent—breaches in the union of our republics, see opposition to Moscow from Tallin, and make sensational discoveries by playing the "Estonian card" in a big political game. We would like to make it clear to Communists in other republics that our steps proceeded and still proceed from an interest in strengthening the union and continuing restructuring.

We must learn from our mistakes. We have no right to believe that every step we take will immediately be

unanimously approved or find followers absolutely everywhere. We must also be aware of differences in approach and levels of perception.

Our main aim is to ensure that we retain the right to decide our own affairs. The moral of this is that the political formulation of any issue at all-union level is an extremely responsible matter. Far from every internal republic discussion or outburst of emotions must end with the urgent adoption of a decision by the republic's highest political bodies. We do have the politicians here to ensure that, after the situation has been thoroughly studied, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and also the Estonian Government can find the optimum course of action which takes maximum account of all the circumstances involved. The public, scientists, and experts raise problems, analyze the situation, and suggest various options, while the political decisions—a compromise where necessary—are made by bodies of people's power, which are responsible to the people for their decisions. This is the practice throughout the civilized world, so let us too aspire to more mature political traditions.

Of all the criticism brought against us, we ourselves are also to blame because our preliminary working contacts with the union's central bodies—many of which were not prepared for the steps we had taken—were certainly inadequate. In the future we must make better use of all available channels, including the all-union press, make the appropriate preparations, and ensure businesslike working contacts with leading all-union bodies at all levels. Politics is not simply making one-sided statements or presenting demands to the people or central bodies. [passage omitted]

Latvian Bureau Member Interviewed on Plenum

PM1101101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Correspondent O. Meshkov report incorporating interview with K. Nyuksha, member of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and toolmaker at Riga production association: "To Act To Help Restructuring. From Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Riga—"Today I am asked: 'Which front do you support?' I reply: the labor front. Please don't misunderstand me—I am against neither the Popular Front nor the International Front. Indeed, why should I be when both claim to support restructuring? But as a working person I am deeply convinced that the fate of restructuring, especially now that the stage of practical deeds has begun, is decided not at rallies and meetings, but primarily at machine tools, in the fields, and in livestock units."

That was how K. Nyuksha, toolmaker at the "Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association, expressed his understanding of the CPSU member's responsibility for restructuring at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum whose participants, as PRAVDA has already reported, discussed the question of progress in fulfilling the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the urgent tasks of the republic's party organization to accelerate the restructuring process at the present stage. The worker and Communist touched on an important issue: The time demands that each one of us be more businesslike and make a specific contribution to the transformations in all spheres of life. I thought that a talk with him after the plenum would also provide food for thought about other topical questions on the minds of Latvia's Communists and all its residents.

[Nyuksha] The debate at the plenum voiced the thought that the report delivered by Yan Yanovich Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, hits the nail on the head, so to speak. I agree with that assessment. I remember a recent party meeting at our association. The Communists attending it bluntly stated: We do not want a restructuring consisting of slogans and rallies! If it is a question of developing democratic principles, it is necessary to discuss serious things above all—granting the union republics greater rights than before in order to strengthen our whole union, giving working people the real opportunity to influence production affairs and the resolution of social tasks, and intensifying glasnost, aimed, once again, at producing a healthier social atmosphere.

In this connection too I personally greatly liked the precise assessment made by the main speaker and a whole series of other speakers of the way in which some of us understand the opportunity to freely express our opinion and our position. Indeed, the truth emerges from argument. It is easier to find the optimum solution and to prevent new errors when you compare different approaches. But the trouble is this: Certain participants in restructuring and groups of people often portray their own opinion as the only correct one and, still worse, attempt to foist it on society at all costs. The means used are pickets, rallies, leaflets and resolutions, the collection of signatures, and the indoctrination of people via some mass news organs. There is no need to look far for examples: When I went out into the street after the plenum I saw a group of pickets standing in the dark. What's the matter? I asked. What are you protesting against? After all, we have been conducting a comradely, principled, businesslike discussion of questions that are very important to us all. But no, some people would very much like to exacerbate the situation and to fuel tension.

Yes, the plenum bluntly and unambiguously said that there are forces in the republic pulling us away from democracy. In our republic there are small but quite aggressive groups that, speculating on economic, social, interethnic, and ecological problems, are taking vigorous

action to inflame anti-Soviet and separatist movements. I refer primarily to groups like "Helsinki-86" and the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" and their leaders Yu. Vidinsha and E. Berklavsa. The latter are trying to take refuge behind the prestige of the Latvian Popular Front. Indeed, both are members of its Duma. And I believe that we logically asked: How does the Popular Front itself assess their extremist statements? Such compromises are impossible for Communists, for they have nothing in common with either democratization, socialist pluralism of opinions, or the very idea of restructuring. I am convinced that this principled assessment made at the plenum is very timely.

[Meshkov] In your speech at the plenum you stressed that you are a member of neither the Popular Front nor the emergent International Front. Nonetheless, what is your assessment of the activity of the Popular Front, for instance?

[Nyuksha] As a member of the Latvian Communist Party Communist Party Bureau, I took part in preparing the document that was published in the press expressing the attitude of the Bureau and the entire Central Committee to this organization. The Popular Front has united within itself many sincere champions of restructuring. And is it possible to deny the fruitfulness of its efforts to develop national awareness, create national cultural societies, and propagandize the achievements of Lettish culture? Of course not. The Popular Front provides material assistance to servicemen who performed their international duty in Afghanistan and it took an active part in the preparation and holding of the forum of Soviet Latvia's peoples. And at local level the support groups are of considerable benefit, help people to uphold their legitimate interests, and take part in resolving the problems that have accumulated in the particular labor collective or settlement. So it is all the more annoying that the extremist remarks of certain Popular Front figures at rallies undermine working people's trust in this organization and help to inflame interethnic strife. I think that the recent plenum will help to remove these accretions in the future.

[Meshkov] In her speech at the plenum R. Volyatovskaya, worker at Riga's "Latviya" Sewn Goods Association and delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, said: The better we resolve economic and social questions, the easier it will be to take the heat out of interethnic relations. This chimes in with your call for people to work more efficiently in every workplace. But at the same time Raisa Volyatovskaya cited facts testifying to the considerable difficulties in implementing genuine enterprise autonomy and the rights granted to the labor collective council.

[Nyuksha] Yes, that's right. The progress of the economic reform should not be idealized. There are serious difficulties at every enterprise, including our own. And I do not think we should flatter ourselves on the fact that in the last 3 years the volume of production development in the republic has increased 12 percent while the number of workers has declined by 15,000. For instance, the "Latviya" association is failing to meet all the deadlines for the construction of a new production block, yet reconstruction and retooling is under way at the enterprise.

[Meshkov] There are also many problems in agriculture. The republic is now giving priority to developing this sector. But, as Balvskiy Raykom First Secretary V. Varnas said at the plenum, it is now 6 months since the priority was proclaimed but there is no indication that it is being specifically backed up by action.

[Nyuksha] I think that the raykom secretary is right. Moreover, he correctly noted that the report unfortunately made no mention of this. There should certainly have been serious discussion about this also. Otherwise our old ailment—the gap between word and deed—will progress. Incidentally, during the report and election campaign in the republic's party organizations rank-and-file Communists made many complaints about their bureaus and committees over empty rhetoric in their work.

As for the priority in developing agriculture, matters are complicated by the fact that certain rural working people, as yet not sensing any real improvements, are raising the question of creating a special "peasant union" supposedly designed to defend their interests. V. Varnas, incidentally, was among those supporting this proposal at the plenum. But I disagree with him on this. Why the haste? Why should we divide the peasants from the workers and counterpose their interests? It must not be forgotten that in our republic it is mostly Letts who work in the countryside, and there are more people of other nationalities in industry. All kinds of secondary interests may prevail here, and then it will be much harder to ensure the consolidation of all healthy forces. Yet that task is now one of the main ones for us Latvian Communists!

There is something else I would like to mention. I am very worried by the way that attitudes toward us are changing—not for the better—in other republics. It is said that the press is to blame for this. There may be some truth in that. But it is useful to consider whether we ourselves are not giving grounds for various negative opinions. Are we not spending too much time lecturing others on how to conduct restructuring and boasting how progressive and industrious we are?

What assessment would I make of the recent plenum? I think it will occupy an important place in the life of our republican party organization. I have in mind not only the urgency of the question that was discussed, but also the unanimity with which the plenum participants opposed the republic's self-isolation and separatism and expressed a desire to continue to implement Leninist principles of socialist internationalism. Latvian working people will support us—I am sure of that. And we

Communists will not sit things out in foxholes, so to speak, but will make a bold and principled defense of our ideas and strengthen friendship among all the Soviet peoples. [Nyuksha ends]

It's impossible to disagree with the thoughts of worker and Communist K. Nyuksha. And I think that the recent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum will help to make headway along the path of rallying all healthy forces in the republic in the struggle for restructuring. Of course, there are many problems to be solved. Many of them were discussed thoroughly and with party exactingness at the plenum. For instance, I. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee reflected from the rostrum on the need to resolutely renew the forms and methods of ideological work. G. Stepanov, general director of the "Era" Production Association, and E. Peltkevich, first secretary of Rezekne party gorkom, spoke of the high responsibility of the mass news media for providing objective coverage of the events taking place in the republic. A. Klautsen, first secretary of Riga party gorkom, M. Lisment, member of the "Banga" Fishing Kolkhoz, and others emphasized in their speeches the thought of the CPSU's leading role in the democratic transformations and insisted on the need to enhance the prestige of party organizations among the masses.

The plenum adopted a detailed resolution on the question under discussion.

Belorussian First Secretary on Republic Jubilee

PM1101109489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee: "Face to Face With People. Soviet Belorussia Is 70 Years Old"]

[Text] It is 70 years since the days when a new page in Belorussia's biography began in the fire of revolution and civil war. The manifesto of the republic's Provisional Worker-Peasant Soviet Government, which was published 1 January 1919, pointed out that Belorussia, "which has suffered perpetual taunting and mocking," had been freed from "age-old torment" and acquired actual equality in the family of fraternal peoples. The age-old aspirations of Belorussians "to be called people," to use Yanka Kupala's words, were realized.

We are proud of our history marked by many glorious milestones. Soviet power was proclaimed in Minsk literally 7 hours after the victorious revolution in Petrograd. Firmly abiding by their political choice and defending their fundamental interests, Belorussia's workers and peasants took an active part in rebuffing the forces of counterrevolution. Expressing the working people's will, the republic's government was one of the initiators of the creation of the mighty USSR.

During the first days of the Great Patriotic War our entire people rose to defend the motherland. Belorussia is known as the partisan republic. The forest army began to come into being as early as July 1941 and soon received nationwide support. And in 1945 our republic was a founder state of the United Nations. Since then it has acted in the international arena as an active champion of peace and world security.

Many successes have attended us during these 70 years. But there have been bitter pages too. Our history has not evolved simply or unambiguously. A high price has had to be paid for deviations from Leninist principles and methods of building the new society, for violations of the democratic norms of life, for voluntarism and dogmatism, and for other deformations.

Reflecting on what we have lived through, I wish to speak again and again of the unparalleled courage and fortitude of the people who carried faith in socialist ideals through all the trials. Still today, in the everyday work of revolutionary renewal, they display readiness to shoulder the common burden, however heavy it might be. You feel this everywhere—in plant shops, in kolkhoz fields, in creative and scientific collectives.

We have not arrived empty-handed at the present day, at the steep steps of restructuring. We possess a sufficiently strong foundation to run things efficiently in all spheres of life. Here are a few facts and figures in this regard. During the first 3 years of the 5-year plan national income increased 14.3 percent, and the gross social product will have increased 14.9 percent—which is considerably more than the target. Industry will have produced above-plan output worth R4.5 billion.

Good changes have occurred in the agrarian sector too: Production of agricultural and livestock products will have increased 11 percent, including 25 percent for grain and 14 percent for meat. More housing, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and cultural centers have been built than planned. Regular labor productivity growth is the basis of acceleration in the social sphere.

But let us be frank: We have not yet managed to give priority significance to qualitative parameters in the economy and to structural changes enabling us to accelerate scientific and technical progress. Many causes of braking in the radical economic reform have not been surmounted.

The republic's national economy is switching to principles of territorial economic accountability and self-financing. Of course, this is not a simple matter and is not devoid of certain risk. But it makes it possible to clearly determine the economic face of the republic and of each region of it, to extend their independence, and, at the same time, to enhance the responsibility of cadres for the end results of their work. For regional economic accountability means new thinking, doing away with

command methods of management, deliverance from dogmatism and freeloading, the language of commerce in its best sense, and the gradual, phased expansion of market relations.

And this, in our view, is the chief point: We see republic economic accountability as a reliable instrument not only for resolving regional tasks but also for increasing the republic's contribution to the all-union cause. Our confidence rests on developed industry, many sectors of which "dictate the fashion" in the country's scientific and technical progress, on the strong positions of agriculture, and on competent and skilled specialists.

We analyzed the state of our market at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in October. On the one hand, it is developing positively. For example, Belorussian enterprises now produce consumer goods worth almost R2 per ruble of expenditure—quite a high indicator against the background of the all-union figure. On the other hand, there is no abundance in the stores. Of course, the shipping of products outside the republic—particularly complex domestic equipment, furniture, and fashionable footwear—has an influence here. But it cannot be otherwise, you know. It is simply inconceivable to satisfy the population's requirements without extensive commodity exchange. To ship nothing implies, as people here say, a small-town, inadequate mentality. The correct path here is not to reduce exports but to increase production and reduce imports of products that we can produce on the spot ourselves. Under conditions of economic accountability this circumstance assumes considerable significance.

If we say today, on the eve of the anniversary, that Belorussian science has obtained results up to world standards in certain areas of research, we will not be sinning against the truth. But it is also true that the unprecedented potential for acceleration accumulated in scientists' laboratories is making its way extremely slowly into plant shops and fields. This path of ours is sometimes measured in a decade, and losses run to millions of rubles. Our efforts are now aimed at developing economic levers which will encourage enterprises to go further toward science and encourage scientists to respond willingly to the needs of production. Particularly as you do not have to go far to find a good example. In Minsk there is the "Planar" Science-and-Production Association, which develops and assimilates very complex equipment in 12-18 months.

We are developing new organizational forms of strengthening the link between science and production: We are creating science-and-production complexes and associations with an "institute-design bureau-experimental production-experimental plant" structure, engineering centers, and temporary creative collectives operating with full economic accountability and self-financing.

The food problem is one of the priority socioeconomic problems. It must be said that there are obvious positive changes here. Gross agricultural output this year will total R11.9 billion—considerably higher than its average annual volume during the years of the 11th 5-Year Plan. During the year there has been per capita production of 115 kg of meat, 737 kg of milk, 344 eggs, 681 kg of grain, 758 kg of potatoes, and 87 kg of vegetables. And yet the supply of foodstuffs to the population cannot be considered satisfactory either from the viewpoint of quality or with regard to range. This year has brought bitter lessons and highlighted many acute questions. There has been a palpable slump in production of crop farming products. An average of only 26 quintals of grain per hectare was gathered. And the reason for this was not so much the weather as our omissions. To put it simply, we did not manage to counter unfavorable climatic factors everywhere and in good time with the help of science.

The general direction of the development of agriculture in the republic is its specialization and concentration on the basis of resource-saving and waste-free industrial techniques. In particular, almost all the pork and half the beef is to be produced using progressive techniques by the end of the next 5-year plan.

At the same time we are increasing attention to questions of improving internal farm economic relations and developing lease collectives capable of utilizing the advantages of large farms and modern techniques on a new basis. On small, family farms everything would seem to be clear and obvious. But how are lease relations to be organized more sensibly and profitably under the roofs of complexes with hundreds of dairy cows, with many thousands of animals being fattened, and with industrial techniques for serving them? As yet neither scientists nor practical workers have a clear answer here. We tackle everything in practice using the trial and error method.

The integration of crop production and livestock raising with other sectors of the agro-industrial complex is making headway with no fewer difficulties. The first agro-industrial combines and firms have appeared in the republic. We are looking closely at the experience of their management and seeking ways to achieve an economically substantiated combination of production, processing, and sales of products.

Over many years disproportions took shape between production and the processing sectors, and they are, unfortunately, continuing to increase. For example, purchases of livestock and poultry have increased 43 percent in 10 years, but meat-processing capacities have increased only 13 percent. In the next few years we are to channel R1.9 billion into developing the processing sectors. Thanks to this, we are reckoning on substantially improving the supply of high-quality foodstuffs to the population.

In resolving national economic and social problems and advancing restructuring more quickly we pin great hopes on the current radical reform of the political system. The need to strengthen the soviets' economic rights, improve cooperation with the economic sphere, and create real opportunities to oppose the diktat of departments is becoming increasingly obvious.

Today a strong industrial complex is operating on Belorussian territory, but the power of the local soviets essentially extends only to local industry, exerting virtually no influence over the economic activity of enterprises located on the soviet's territory. Of the 478 enterprises under union-level jurisdiction operating in the republic, only 125 pay part of their profits into local budgets. Nor do local soviets have the right to place orders with the enterprises that are on their territory, and there is limited potential for disposing of above-plan output. Such a practice reduces the soviets' role in many spheres of life—above all in resolving social problems. And yet the work of the soviets is directly addressed to the person's needs and aspirations.

Specific programs for building housing and roads, improving the population's health, and so forth have been adopted and are being implemented to bring the social sphere up to modern standards. But the chief work in this area still lies ahead.

On anniversaries in the past we would proudly call ourselves a republic with a big chemical industry, emphasizing that 1 tonne in every 2 of potash fertilizers is produced in Belorussia and that we produce almost one-third of the union production of chemical fibers. Today we treat these ringing figures with greater restraint. This is because of serious mistakes in siting and developing chemical sectors. The nature conservation measures planned right at the start and the additional measures taken later were not comprehensive or adequate. They led to serious violations of the ecological balance. And if you add to this the considerable territories affected by the Chernobyl disaster, you will understand how acutely problems of ecology are facing us.

Proposing a new course in April 1985, the party declared that we were embarking on a road of strong and bold people possessing a sense of political and moral responsibility.

Yes, every one of us wants positive changes to happen more quickly. But he who only waits for material benefits to pour forth as from a horn of plenty and makes no effort of his own for this is willy-nilly slowing up restructuring.

The most important task of the republic party organization is to combine the development of democracy and the broadening of glasnost with the resolution of specific matters in all sectors of economic and cultural building. This is the command of the time and one of the main areas for stepping up the organizational and mass political work of party committees and organizations. Of course, today, underpinned by the people's collective wisdom, they themselves are learning to work under the new conditions and are overcoming the dogmatic and voluntarist legacy of the past. Advice instead of orders; all-around, in-depth analysis instead of intuition; power of authority instead of force of authority—this is what we are seeking by restructuring the work of party committees and organizations.

This is not an easy process. But it is gathering momentum daily. This was shown by the report and election campaign that has ended. To be brief, the chief topic of the sharp debates was the search for effective ways for party organizations to increase their political, intellectual, and moral potential.

Soviet Belorussia and the republic's Communist Party ar 70 years old. These days we think and act the way V. Mayakovskiy figuratively put it: "A jubilee is like running repairs: You stop for a while and then you are off again." Indeed, we do not have time to "jubilate." Each of us has great, strenuous work to do. It is called restructuring.

Belorussian NTS Party Representative Interviewed

PM1001161889 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 21 Dec 88 pp 18-19

[Interview with unnamed representative of the People's Labor Alliance by Giancarlo Lehner; date, place not given]

[Text] A semi-clandestine meeting with a representative of NTS, that is, the People's Labor Alliance, the party of the white Russians, which survived 70 years of Bolshevism and which, thanks to glasnost, can now come out into the open, albeit amid innumerable precautions and disguises. We cannot reveal his name, for obvious reasons.

[Lehner] Is the NTS a real alternative party or merely one of the many independent associations that have emerged in the Gorbachev era?

[Interviewee] It is a party and, moreover, a historic one. It is exactly the same age as the CPSU because it was formed in 1917—not with the same name but with the same strategy: to resist totalitarianism and to prepare the people for democracy. The NTS' official date of birth is 1930. We have always worked clandestinely but never surrendered to Bolshevism. You may perhaps recall Yuriy Andropov's December 1967 speech: The then KGB chief said that the NTS was public enemy number one. After years of repression and after the death, disappearance, and confinement in gulags suffered by many members, now we "Russian solidarists" are showing ourselves openly. In Moscow, for instance, there is

Valeriy Senderov, who no longer conceals his political identity and publishes party propaganda. We have Rostislav Yevdakimov working in Leningrad....

[Lehner] You should therefore be fairly pleased with Gorbachev. Are you?

[Interviewee] You Westerners have an uncritical love for the Kremlin leader, forgetting that he comes from nothing but the cream of the nomenklatura. However, you make an even greater mistake: Almost all Sovietologists study only the tiny signals coming from the Kremlin and forget the major signals to be read within society. Gorbachev is the result primarily of initiatives from below, as well as of the realization of the failure of communism. In the West restructuring seems like an initiative from the top, whereas it is a defensive response to society's demands. Pay a visit to the USSR and talk to people: You will discover the scale of the social and political earthquake that the "new course" is intended to avert.

[Lehner] Do you not believe that Gorbachev is entrusting a great deal of his investment to people's consensus in order to free himself from the CPSU's influence?

[Interviewee] Yours is a hypothesis. For us it is only a hope. For the present the KGB still persecutes us. Do you not consider it strange that NTS members are frequently beaten in the Moscow streets by unknown thugs and often run down by hit-and-run drivers?

[Lehner] Do you agree with the idea that restructuring and glasnost are starting an irreversible process and setting in motion a chain reaction that will perhaps extend far beyond the reformers intentions?

[Interviewee] You are not proceeding from the correct premise: The reformers could not do anything else. Gorbachev was objectively forced to attempt the road of innovation. Theirs are not initiatives but desperate responses. The Communists were entirely isolated from the country, the economy was wrecked, and the entire edifice of the regime was creaking. The CPSU faced only one future: Disaster or a slow and inevitable descent into the Third World. I do not believe an obligatory choice is to be applauded.

[Lehner] I am unconvinced by the idea of the "only way": The CPSU could still have used force or introduced moderate reforms. Today, however, we are hearing watchwords entirely different from those of communist tradition: an end to the class struggle as a founding principle, privatization, and the reappraisal of social democracy. Consider the latest novelty: The Soviets can buy their own homes. Private property is no longer theft, but a right. What do you say?

[Interviewee] I will tell you a true story: In the wake of restructuring a number of friends turned to private enterprise—a well-managed engineering workshop that met people's needs. To get something fixed in the USSR you often have to wait years. If you need a car body repair you have to wait on average a year. Well, the private workshop functioned and produced wealth: The profits were huge, compared to a Russian's average income. The millions of rubles were honestly earned. These friends ended up in prison. Do you know why? To satisfy customers they had to buy spare parts on the black market because the state warehouse that should have supplied them either did not have them or would not give them to "dirty" capitalists. In any case it was easier that it did not have them because such is the inefficiency and carelessness of everything state owned. What does this mean? It is a parable: It is misleading, dishonest to authorize private enterprise in certain islands when they are unable to function because they are surrounded by an ocean of uneconomic and hostile state structures. Now the friends are in prison like criminals because it is claimed that they were in league with the black market! You talk to me about homes: On an average worker's wage, do you know how many years and how many sacrifices it would take to secure a home—not for yourself but for your grandchildren?

[Lehner] Of course you know more than me about these incredible facts, but you will surely admit that the slogan "home ownership" is a political revolution.... Owning property is becoming a good thing: Ownership and freedom are so close....

[Interviewee] I will grant you that. The fact is that the propaganda rationale can get out of hand and set undesired processes in motion. In the Soviet Union freedom is no longer a dream: You can find anything, the most disparate ideas, among the various spontaneous groups—even neonazis. However, it is groups inspired by patriotism and tradition that predominate. It is the Russia of the past, which never died and which is now reemerging.

[Lehner] Do you not consider it worrying that tsarist Russia could return in place of Bolshevism?

[Interviewee] No. This is not so. I am referring to our cultural roots, to the Orthodox Church, to the bourgeois revolution of 1917, not to the tsars. Bear in mind that all the white collar workers are on our side—not as a party, but in terms of ideals. With the following difference: Now some of us are "inside" the system and blowing on the wind of restructuring. Personally, I am worried by the phenomenon of infiltration and would always prefer simply open opposition. There is the risk that in the long term infiltration will mean adherence. We are the intermediate party between the two basic areas of the opposition—the Slavophiles and the pro-Westerners. We want to combine the Russian cultural medium with liberal-democratic values.

[Lehner] It seems important to me, however, to cooperate for the success of restructering. Otherwise you would be playing into the conservatives' hands....

[Interviewee] Do not misunderstand me: We are for a real restructuring of the system and do not invest in misfortune. However, we believe that it is only possible to talk in terms of real reform with the implementation of the NTS program: political pluralism and therefore free elections, within a framework of broad pluralism. Let me explain: Most democratic decisions must proceed from organs of local self-government. Swiss democracy is the closest to our own. Remember that this is a tradition in Russia: the peasant communities, the cossack groups, the zemstvos—a great grassroots democratic tradition.

[Lehner] You seem to me to be above all greater Russian nationalists, or is this not so?

[Interviewee] We love our country and want to restore its traditional name, "Russia," but we are open to the broadest cooperation. We do not want to be a CPSU in reverse. We want a free and democratic homeland. We do not regard even the Communists as enemies: We respect people because we are combating the totalitarian system, not people. Our basic concept is solidarity. This is why we call ourselves Russian solidarists.

[Lehner] Andropov accused you of being CIA agents. This is of course false, but you must surely have received help from the West in order to survive for 70 years....

[Interviewee] You said previously: We are nationalists, but in the positive sense. We will never accept foreign intervention. The future must be built by the Russian people and by their hands alone, proceeding from Kerenskiy but looking ahead to the third millenium.

[Lehner] Let us imagine that there were free elections in the USSR tomorrow. What kind of response would the NTS receive from the voters?

[Interviewee] I am no fortune teller but I can tell you in all honesty and humility that we would secure a large percentage, much larger than the CPSU. This, precisely because we meet the demands both of the Slavophiles and of the pro-Westerners.

Leningrad Pamyat Investigated by Procurator

PM1101150889 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 52, 25 Dec 89 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Against National Strife"]

[Text] Valeriy Voskoboynikov, a Leningrade writer, described in "MN" No 32 his visit to the meetings of the Pamyat society in the centre of Leningrad, and about the nationalistic mottoes that sounded there. After that a leaflet was spread in Leningrad, which provided the writer's home telephone number and called upon people to phone him "to express your opinion on his offensive attacks against patriots". Voskoboynikov received threatening phone calls. "MN" has also received other chauvinistic leaflets that were spread in Leningrad. In this situation "MN" deemed it necessary to approach (issue No. 43) the USSR Procurator-general's office with a request that they apply legal measures to stop the illegal activities in Leningrad.

Dmitriy Verevkin, Senior Councillor of Justice, Procurator of Leningrad, informed MN that the Procurator's Office of Leningrad had invited specialists in interethnic relations and state law and checked up, in August-September 1988, the legality of the activities of the so-called national-patriotic front, Pamyat. The checkup showed that at their meetings, and in documents prepared by members of Pamyat, they "propagandized great-power trends, Orthodoxy, nationalistic hangovers, which expressed themselves in confrontations between the Russian and Jewish nationalities, in propaganda exclusively extolling Russian values, mistrust and negligence towards Jews, with the concepts of 'zionism' and 'jew' unobjectively mixed together... The holding of such meetings and the spreading of tendentiously chosen literature on the Jewish question can serve only as a means of disuniting nations and weakening friendship among them, which is against Article 36 of the USSR Constitution".

The holding of further Pamyat meetings was forbidden. A talk was held between the leaders of Pamyat and the Procurator's Office in September 1988. It was explained to them, that Soviet legislation forbids the propaganda of national strife and that, consequently, legal proceedings would be brought against them if they continued their former activities. The checkup showed that the Executive Committee of the Vasileostrovskiy District Soviet of Leningrad had permitted the above-mentioned meetings without finding out their goals and tasks. In this connection, the city's Procurator sent a representation to the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet about the impermissibility of such violations and about the need to oversee the legality in the activities of self-governed, amateur organizations.

The checkup held by the Procurator's Office confirmed the fact that leaflets, full of slanderous inventions about inter-ethnic relations and summons to phone V. Voskoboynikov, were spread in Leningrad. However, Voskoboynikov did not apply to the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the Procurator's Office about this leaflet or the phone calls he received; in the talk held with him at the Procurator's Office he didn't express any desire for protection by law-enforcing organs and said that, if need be, he'd make use of the Procurator's proposal.

The fact that leaflets containing signatures "Fathers of Pamyat" were distributed on the opening day of the Kirov Opera and Ballet Theatre was not confirmed in the course of the investigation.

According to Leningrad's Procurator, Pamyat has considerably reduced its activities and now rejects the use of violence and extremism.

Proposals to Save Tadzhik as State Language

LD1101130889 Dushanbe TOJIKSTONI SOVETI in Tadzhik 24 Dec 88 p 3

[Excerpts] Proposal: The Tadzhik language should have the status of a state language.

Why have national languages and their status as state languages suddenly acquired great importance in the period of restructuring? Why has it become necessary for the social status of the Tadzhik language to have firm legal and constitutional guarantees?

The long rule of bureaucratic administration has eradicated the bases of Soviet society. Fear of extinction has increasingly engulfed small nations and national languages. According to the 1926 census, 194 nationalities existed in our country, however, the 1979 census showed that only 101 nationalities remained. Thus, in 50 years the number of nationalities was almost halved. [passage omitted]

Also during this period, the total number of extinct languages reached 40. The extinction of languages means the extinction of people.

The signs of this process can also be seen in Tadzhikistan. The fulfillment of its social role by the literary national language is very limited in Tadzhikistan, and could be said to be zero in most of the important fields of the life of society. Party organizations, soviet bodies, ministries and departments, construction and indusrial enterprises, scientific institutions, and so on do not use the Tadzhik language. Not only technical documents and basic administrative work do not contain Tadzhik; usually official business is also not conducted in Tadzhik.

Most Tadzhiks who work in enterprises and departments soon lose their mother tongue to the extent that they cannot even speak to their families properly, let alone read Tadzhik books or subscribe to Tadzhik language newspapers. Not only ordinary employees, but leaders and high-ranking officials, and even most intellectuals, do not have a proper command of Tadzhik. They speak only with difficulty and using very simple language. If they happen to speak in front of other people, especially Afghan and Iranian guests, the result is only shame. Lack of knowledge of the language, and illiteracy, are increasingly spreading. Secondary and high schools are unable to prevent them. The Tadzhik people, whose printed knowledge and literary language for centuries had reached high peaks of development, are now close to losing their language. [passage omitted]

Naturally, when a great and influential language functions alongside a less influential language, it is difficult or even impossible for them to have true equality in the social sphere. Even if the law applying to them has the same value, it would almost be impossible to ensure the legal rights of the less influential language in practice. [passage omitted]

Therefore, it is necessary to adopt resolute measures to save the less influential language from extinction and destruction. The Tadzhik language is now in need of such special measures. Special conditions should be prepared to ensure a moderate development of the Tadzhik language and its survival. The national language in the republic should have advantages and privileges to ensure its standing.

Ensuring the life of the Tadzhik language would ensure the life of the Tadzhik people. The people's state has no greater duty than to ensure the literary life of the people. Therefore, adopting measures for this is always necessary, and in present-day conditions there is a need for extraordinary measures. [passage omitted]

Therefore, considering the views of public figures reflected in the press, the recommendations of the conference on speech culture, which was held 24-25 November this year, and also the experiences of the other fraternal republics, we propose:

The Tadzhik language be recognized as the state language within the boundaries of the Tadzhik SSR in accordance with a Tadzhik SSR Supreme Soviet decree. To this effect a special article should be added to the Tadzhik SSR Constitution. The constitution should ensure legal guarantees for the use of the Tadzhik language in state organs, enterprises, departments and organizations, secondary and higher education, science, technology, culture, health, municipal services, and so on.

The supreme soviet presidium should recommend to its relevant commission or to a special commission that, with the participation of linguistic, sociology, and legal experts, and so forth, and also with the cooperation of creative intellectuals, it should prepare a draft on the status of the state language of the Tadzhik SSR, and propose it for public discussion and then to a session of the republican supreme soviet.

The territory of Tadzhikistan is the actual operational area for the Tadzhik language. The issue of its existence or nonexistence, will primarily be settled in this land. In the struggle for existence or nonexistence, in order for the national language to succeed, it is necessary that the law ensures this with special possibilities. In the meantime, these privileges of the national language should also, as far as possible, take into account the interests of other peoples and languages.

With this consideration and other observations, we deem it necessary that the state language and its legal status should not only be determined in the Tadzhik SSR Constitution, but also a special law—the law of the Tadzhik SSR languages—should be adopted. [passage omitted]

We believe that giving the status of state language to the Tadzhik language in Tadzhikistan will strengthen its vital roots, ensure true friendship and comradeship

among the peoples of the republic, and prepare the necessary ground for the speedy development of our mother tongue. At the same time, there is no doubt that the law on the official status of the Tadzhik language and the language of the main nationalities of the union and atonomous republics and other administrative organizations of our multinational country will be gratefully respected by all fraternal peoples. They will see that the reform of political system, which is one of the fundamental pillars of the restructuring, will become fact.

[Signed] M. Shukurov, academician of the Tadzhik SSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Soviet literature department of the Rudaki Institute of Languages and Literature.

R. Amanov, academician of the Tadzhik SSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Folklore Department of the Rudaki Institute of Languages and Literature.

G. Safiyeva, poetess and head of the Tadzhikistan Cultural Heritage.

Sh. Rustamov, corresponding member of the Tadzhik SSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Languages Department of the Rudaki Institute of Languages and Literature.

R. Gaffarov, Doctor of Philology and head of the Dialectology Department of the Rudaki Institute of Languages and Literature.

Kuhzad, writer, head of the "Adib" Publication Department.

Laiq Sherali, poet and chief editor of the magazine SADA- I SHARQ.

A. Ssifullayev, Doctor of Philology and senior scientific worker of the Rudaki Institute of Languages and Literature.

B. Tilavov, Doctor of Philology and senior scientific worker of the Rudaki Institute of Languages and Literature.

Boris Yeltsin on Leadership, Reform, Other Issues

PM1201103289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 7 Jan 89 p 7

[Interview with former Moscow Gorkom First Secretary Boris Yeltsin by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"I have faith in restructuring. Sooner or later restructuring will have faith in me again" The old fighter is ready. A year after his excommunication from the party, with his defeat by the conservatives who expelled him from the Moscow CPSU leadership, Boris Yeltsin feels that his political purgatory is about to come to an end; condemns the lag in restructuring; urges Gorbachev not to leave the reform unfinished; attacks his major adversary, Yegor Ligachev; and meanwhile intends to participate in the campaign for elections to the new parliament. Above all, as he returns to the fray Yeltsin recounts the stages, secrets, and conflicts of the past year of restructuring, marked by an open conflict between reformists and conservatives within the Soviet leadership. It is the exciting story of a political battle that is not yet over, that affects the empire's future, and that also involves personal relations between the CPSU's leaders.

"I believe Gorbachev and I will soon achieve a rapprochement," Yeltsin announced. "I know he regretted condemning me, and even then he was my most loyal comrade. The time has come to say that this split between us was caused entirely by Yegor Ligachev. Now, even though he is still afloat, I do not believe that Ligachev can continue this work. I am waiting, but at the next congress, unless I obtain justice before then, I will again request my political rehabilitation. I want the cancellation of the two words defining my position as 'politically erroneous.' The facts show that this is not so." The large office of the deputy chairman of Gosstroy is gleaming and empty, as though Yeltsin were just passing through. On the bare desk there lay only a copy of the "Publishing Digest" ["Rassegna editoriale"] with the following headline underlined in red: "Yegor, You Are Absolutely Wrong."

[Mauro] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Western papers call you the kamikaze of restructuring. You attacked and lost, but have not surrendered. What is your assessment now of this past year of clashes within the Soviet leadership? Has restructuring grown stronger?

[Yeltsin] I must answer "no"—unfortunately. Of course there have been many changes and steps forward in democracy, glasnost, and reforms, but the results are not those hoped for and needed. We must not forget that restructuring is entering its 4th year. And 4 years on we would have liked to be much further forward than we are.

[Mauro] Is Gorbachev not stronger than he was a year ago?

[Yeltsin] On the personal level, yes. Now the conservatives have concealed themselves against the background of restructuring and are awaiting the right moment. The latest reshuffle rewarded the Gorbachevian leaders. Foreign policy is successful—certainly more so than domestic policy, and this is a paradox worth pondering. Combining all these points, it can be concluded that Gorbachev is stronger—but in his personal positions more than in his policy.

[Mauro] Are you saying that restructuring's future is not dependent on Gorbachev's future?

[Yeltsin] I am simply saying that the specific results of the new course are smaller than people expected.

[Mauro] Where do you believe the greatest lag has occurred?

[Yeltsin] The economic reform has in fact ground to a halt. On the social plane little has been achieved; in the field of democratization that which should be proceeding swiftly is barely moving; the media are going into decline, concentrating as they do on the thirties instead of today's problems; and even with regard to cadres policy not everything necessary is being done for a real reform.

[Mauro] From what you say, you do not seem to regret at all the criticisms that cost you your post a year ago. Is this so?

[Yeltsin] Why should I regret them? In the social sphere I see no changes that can convince me that I was wrong in my condemnation. Indeed as a result of some of the issues I raised—from food supplies to services—decisions have been made with which I agree. However, they are precisely decisions: People expect results, and there is a long way to go. So after a year events threaten to corroborate a speech I delivered to the October plenum, which was never published.

[Mauro] But now that even PRAVDA criticizes democratic centralism can you say whether it is true that you criticized Raisa Gorbacheva in that speech?

[Yeltsin] It is untrue. I do not believe that matters relating to the general secretary's wife are a topic for a plenum.

[Mauro] On that occasion you were accused of having criticized the "party leadership." Can you now clarify whether you criticized Ligachev alone or others too in your speech?

[Yeltsin] Others too.

[Mauro] A month later Gorbachev said that you have undermined "the unity of all forces" necessary for the success of restructuring. Now that unity has exploded, following the public clash between conservatives and progressives. When do you believe the leadership pact began to falter?

[Yeltsin] I believe that speech of mine gave a jolt to the leadership, revealing the latent conflict within it. The leadership had never before been challenged at a plenum. In fact it has not happened since either. So people had to be shown the uniformity of the leadership group at all costs. I know, for instance, that after Nina Andreyeva's article was published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Gorbachev and Ligachev stopped talking to one another. On Lenin's "birthday," however, they appeared side by side talking at length in front of the television cameras. This is politics and this is what politics demanded.

[Mauro] Do you believe that the pro-Stalinist manifesto written by Nina Andreyeva was intended to weaken Gorbachev in order to influence him or did she actually want to establish an alternative to the secretary?

[Yeltsin] In order to answer that I would have to be inside the mind not only of the article's author but of whoever organized the operation and planned the attack. The fact that there was an attack proves that somebody did nurture the hopes you mentioned.

[Mauro] Boris Nikolayevich, you usually talk frankly: Was Ligachev the organizer?

[Yeltsin] I will answer you as diplomatically as I know how: It cannot be ruled out. No, it really cannot.

[Mauro] Is this why Gorbachev unexpectedly allowed you to speak at the latest party conference? Was it to let you attack Ligachev?

[Yeltsin] Actually it was I who took the initiative to speak. You were unable to see what happened in the hall. If Gorbachev had wanted to have me speak he could have done so before, since I had sent the Presidium two notes asking to speak. Without success. So from the floor, where I had been confined with delegates from Karelia, I arose and, brandishing my papers in front of everyone, declared: I want to speak. Whether my speech was useful to Gorbachev is another matter.

[Mauro] Was it useful because it forced Ligachev to reply, thus revealing himself as the conservatives' leader?

[Yeltsin] Yes, but not only him. He had to reply to me and thus revealed himself to the party and the country for what he really is. The least that can be said is that his was an unintelligent speech that marked the beginning of his misfortune.

[Mauro] For that matter, the misfortune was greater for Gromyko and Solomentsev, lauded by Ligachev in his speech as Gorbachev's "kingmakers" but now expelled from the Politburo. Where do you believe Gorbachev found the strength to redesign the party leadership, after so many compromises?

[Yeltsin] I am still wondering why he did not find this strength sooner. The renewal should have happened earlier and been much more thorough. When it actually happened no special courage was needed any longer; everything was already very much overdue. If Ligachev too had been expelled from the Politburo there would have been no resistance.

[Mauro] You still place much emphasis on Ligachev, but was it not precisely he, as he revealed at the conference, who recommended Boris Yeltsin to the Politburo?

[Yeltsin] It is untrue. When the Politburo decided that I should transfer from Sverdlovsk to Moscow in 1985 I was informed of it by telephone by Dolgikh. I said "no." So the next day Ligachev phoned me on Gorbachev's instructions. I repeated my "no" so he invoked party discipline.

[Mauro] Why did you turn down Moscow?

[Yeltsin] Let us say that I liked the work in the Urals, after 10 years. Let us also say that workers there do not swing from one thing to another. If they are to support Yeltsin, they support him. So much so that they still do so.

[Mauro] What was the origin of your dispute with Ligachev?

[Yeltsin] It was a political dispute. Apart from that, we would just exchange greetings. The clash was chiefly over social justice. He told me that when it comes to people I was too left-wing and that otherwise I was too right-wing. I have always judged him insincere, even toward the general secretary. I did not believe him, even though he says he built socialism in a single region, or some such....

[Mauro] Do you now regard it as a personal victory that Ligachev has been demoted, losing his ideology post and being transferred to agriculture?

[Yeltsin] Quite honestly, it is still not enough. It is necessary to go all the way.

[Mauro] How far is that?

[Yeltsin] Look, if I had been in his shoes I would have resigned some time ago, immediately after the conference. He covered himself in shame when he decided to announce to everyone that it was they four who created Gorbachev. It was an attempt to take the secretary hostage, but also to compromise him. I believe it took a great deal of self-control on Gorbachev's part not to react. I had never heard such cynical talk from anyone. People realized this, as shown by the hundreds of letters I receive. They ask: When is Ligachev leaving?

[Mauro] There is one point you should clarify: In your opinion, was Ligachev demoted or not?

[Yeltsin] I would talk in terms of a semi-punishment. He tried to personalize the battle and was put in his place in time. But he is still there. I would call it a kind of conditional sentence.

[Mauro] Can the conservatives be identified with Ligachev? Was he, and is he, really on his own?

[Yeltsin] If you mean that the leadership has not yet been entirely renewed, I would reply that it is true.

[Mauro] Following the earthquake disaster the impression is of a trend toward a Gorbachev-Ligachev partnership confined to the Politburo and a Gorbachev-Ryzhkov partnership for head of state and head of government: Is this impression correct?

[Yeltsin] It should be said, first, that Ligachev was never officially second-in-command. However, in our country whoever guides the secretary is in effect his deputy—and Ligachev did guide him. In recent months all decisions have been signed by Gorbachev and the secretary has not been guided by anyone. As for Ryzhkov, it is right and logical for the head of government to be number two, as in every other country in the world.

[Mauro] Do you not believe that, despite Ryzhkov's and Gorbachev's hard work, the earthquake, together with the rebellion in Nagorno-Karabakh, has underlined the crisis in the Soviet nationalities policy?

[Yeltsin] In fact there has been no policy, no program, and no plan for the nationalities. The issue was considered to have been resolved once and for all. The facts show tht it is untrue. How can you include in the Politburo the Azerbaijani secretary and not the Armenian secretary? People see and understand. Until people rebel.

[Mauro] However, the crisis does not concern the Caucasus alone: What do you think about the separatist thrusts in Estonia?

[Yeltsin] It is a logical process, and an interesting one. We must not react with panic, unless the nationalistic spirit and coercion prevail. In my opinion, however, the Popular Front is a good thing because it breaks the stifling political apathy. Of course when society awakes some excesses are inevitable. But if a window is broken it does not matter: We will install a new window.

[Mauro] There is a danger that the front will not be able to elect its own representatives as deputies, like many other informal groups, whereas minor bureaucratic organizations will have their own candidates. What do you think of this?

[Yeltsin] These risks do exist, and I am afraid that with the new system we will ultimately cheat ourselves by passing over the best people. Even within the party it is unclear how this complex machine will work. I remain convinced that there must be direct and universal elections by secret ballot, very simple and comprehensible to everyone.

[Mauro] Will you be a candidate to the new parliament?

[Yeltsin] I am being proposed by hundreds of workers' collectives, as well as rayons. Within the party, however, my name is not mentioned. In fact when my candidacy reaches gorkom level it is axed. The collectives persevere

in putting me forward but the official order comes from above: Do not allow Yeltsin through. It seems incredible, but it is true. We shall see what happens in the end.

[Mauro] Your post as minister is incompatible with that of deputy. Which would you choose?

[Yeltsin] If I were elected I would resign as minister. I have already told my wife: We will no longer have a dacha or a car, but it does not matter. I have already foregone the special food allowances for the nomenklatura and live very well. Perhaps I have lost weight, but I survive.

[Mauro] You talk about special food for leaders, but what do you think of the food bomb hanging over restructuring?

[Yeltsin] Those who say we have a year, perhaps 2, to reform our stores before people rebel are correct. However, the food crisis shows that, tactically, restructuring is being mismanaged. The front is too broad, it embraces everything. It was necessary, first, to resolve the political issues and to concentrate every effort on the problems affecting people's lives—food, consumer goods, and services. Otherwise restructuring will increasingly become mere talk.

[Mauro] Now, in the 4th year of restructuring, is Gorbachev still at risk or is he safe?

[Yeltsin] Believe me: It is necessary to be on the alert even now. A disaster is still possible.

CPSU Central Auditing Commission Session Held

PM1101164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "CPSU Central Auditing Commission Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission was held on 10 January at which its 1989 work plan was discussed.

Speaking on this question, A.A. Nizovtseva, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, stressed that the commission is guided in its practical activity by the decision of the 27th party congress, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and Central Committee plenums, and the conclusions stemming from party documents and the speeches by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The commission's work is planned in accordance with the CPSU Statutes and the statute on the CPSU Central Auditing Commission defining its rights and obligations. In the current year the commission's entire activity is aimed at ensuring all-around tightening of party discipline, enhancing the level of organization and exactingness, intensifying the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, red tape, mismanagement, and excess, and expanding glasnost and democratization of internal party life. Two basic areas have been singled out: The carrying out of audits in central party organs and CPSU Central Committee enterprises and establishments; and the provision of methodological help to local party organizations' control and auditing commissions.

Further intensification and improvement of the activity of every member of the Central Auditing Commission and of the commission as a whole on that basis is an important precondition for enhancing the effectiveness of the Central Auditing Commission and auditing commissions at local level. The Central Auditing Commission Bureau has assigned most commission members specific tasks to carry out audits and organizational measures, study positive experience, and provide practical help to auditing commissions in establishing auditing work at local level. Account was taken here of the fact that 11 commission members belong to CPSU Central Committee commissions concerned with basic areas of domestic and foreign policy.

The speech noted that the composition of auditing commissions had been substantially renewed—70-80 percent in some party organizations—during the recent reports and elections in the party. The commission therefore considers that one of its most important tasks is to help all Communists newly elected onto auditing commissions to get involved in active work as quickly as possible.

To this end the commission plans, in conjunction with CPSU Central Committee departments, to organize in the first half of this year study courses for members of commissions everywhere and to hold a conference involving chairmen of republic, kray, and oblast party organizations in Moscow.

Special attention will be paid to helping newly elected control and auditing commissions in Krasnodar Kray, Alma-Ata, Kiev, Moscow, and Tula Oblasts, and Kiev city party organizations set up their auditing work. To achieve this and also to study and build up positive experience of the activity of unified commissions helping promote the revival of Leninist principles of internal party control a special commission made up of Central Auditing Commission members has been created. It will work on these questions in close contact with CPSU Central Committee departments and the CPSU Central Committe Party Control Committee.

A.A. Nizovtseva then briefed commission members on practical measures adopted by the Central Auditing Commission Bureau for implementing the proposals and observations made at the Central Auditing Commission's session of 28 November 1988.

The following members of the Central Auditing Commission took part in discussion of the plan: Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States; V.A. Bykov, USSR minister of the medical and microbiology industry; A.P.

Dumachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; A.M. Fateyev, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; G.F. Sukhoruchenkova, secretary of the AUCCTU; I.A. Shinkevich, chairman of the Union of Railway Transport and Transport Construction Workers Central Committee; V.F. Konnov, chairman of the RSFSR People's Control Committee; and others. They put forward a number of suggestions and proposals aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of auditing work inside the party.

Churbanov Investigation, Trial Examined

PM1101170489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 8 Jan 89 p 5

[Oleg Temushkin article: "Verdict Announced, Problems Remain"]

[Text] During the last four months of 1988, the Military Judicial Board of the USSR Supreme Court, with Maj Gen of Justice M. Marov as chairman, was considering the criminal case of former leading workers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, charged with bribe-taking and other crimes. Nine people were tried—former First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR Yu. Churbanov; former Minister of Internal Affairs of the Uzbek SSR Kh. Yakhyayev; two deputy ministers—P. Begelman and T. Kakhramanov; five former chiefs of regional MIA administrations in the Uzbek SSR—D. Dzhamalov, Ya. Makhamadzhanov, Kh. Norbutayev, M. Norov and S. Sabriov.

The court sentenced Churbanov to 12 years, Norbutayev—to 10 years, Norov and Begelman—to nine years, Dzhamalov, Makhamadzhanov and Sabirov—to eight years imprisonment. All of them are to serve their sentences in a strict regime corrective labour colony, and will have their property confiscated. Kakhramanov was acquitted and released for lack of evidence. Yakhyavev's case was singled out as a separate procedure and returned for further investigation.

The trial was open. It was attended by Soviet and foreign journalists. Those who attended the trial could see for themselves how thoroughly the evidence was analyzed. The collegium considered the crime in conditions of competition. The two sides—prosecution and defence—had equal rights and the Judicial Board tested the evidence produced by the investigation.

Some of the charges were proved and a sentence was given accordingly. And now (I stress only now), we can call Churbanov and the others found guilty by the court criminals. It was not for nothing that I stressed—only now. Long before the trial was over, these people—inspired by the investigators—were called criminals in the media, illegally and against the constitutional principle of presumption of innocence. Even the exact size of the bribes they had received was mentioned. Some papers stated that Churbanov, for example, received 656,883 roubles. I don't think the procurator felt very comfortable when, in his speech, he had to reject charges he had made in many episodes and ask the court to find Churbanov guilty of receiving only half this amount. The court proved three episodes of bribe-taking to the tune of 90,960 roubles. Though not negligible, it is seven times less than the amount originally claimed.

It looks like the authors and those who inspired the publications wanted to head passions, capitalizing on the fact that Churbanov was the son-in-law of the former General Secretary of our Party, and give the trial a political hue. Churbanov and a certain Adylov (under investigation) for more than four years, kept in jail illegally without a sentence) were put in the same category as Yezov and Beriya. The aim was obvious—to prejudice people against the defendants and bring moral pressure to bear on justice.

The court put everything in its place—under trial was not Brezhnev's son-in-law but a very definite person, who committed a grave crime, a bribe-taker and embezzler.

There is hardly any need to comment on the sentence here or to describe the crimes committed by Churbanov and the other convicted persons. The degree of their fall is unprecedented and I'm sure it will be appraised as it should be, including by the press. I've a different task now. As a professional, I'm tormented by other things. Why did most episodes offered by investigators fall apart like houses of cards as a result of the trial? Why was one of the accused, Kakhramanov, acquitted, whereas the court returned Yakhyayev's case for further investigation? As it turned out, the investigation was aware of other facts concerning Yakhyayev's criminal activities, including arbitrary practices and lawlessness in relation to a number of citizens. It is hard to explain why these facts were disregarded by the investigation. Maybe the investigators did not have enough time to do proper research and, as the law demands it, to confirm that everything they offered proved the defendants' guilt? But they had more than enough time. The law allows us to hold defendants under investigation for up to 9 months. But in this case, people were kept in jail for years. Churbanov, for example, about two years. Yakhyayev—over three years and Kakhramanov—about four years.

What was the problem?

The answer is simple—lack of professionalism on the part of the investigators, lack of proper control and effective surveillance over their work by the procurator. Hence, the conviction that they would not be punished and the arbitrariness in their work. In its verdict the court noted gross violation of the law during investigations.

In this connection I'd like to upbraid the procurator, the state prosecutor in the case. He was courageous enough to drop a number of charges, although there was a need to go further, inasmuch as many other episodes proved equally unfounded in fact. But what the procurator had no right to do was to pass over violations of the law by

the investigators—which became known at the trial. He should have mentioned this in his speech and given a proper explanation, because he is a representative of the organ that oversees legislation. This was done by the defence lawyers instead of him and later by the court. This trial produced solid arguments in favour of the planned decision to take the investigation away from the procurator's office; if this is done, the procurator's surveillance over the investigation will, probably, be firm and uncompromising.

As for the investigation of this case, I think that Gdlyan and Ivanov, heads of the investigation team, spent too much time on self-advertisement and had no time for quality investigation of the case.

The trial showed clearly that everyone is equal before the law in a law governed state. The law punishes anyone who breaks it, irrespective of his or her post and former merits. The law doesn't allow arrogance, or ignoring the rights of any person, including a defendant. We have no right to forget how dearly our people paid when this principle was trampled upon in Stalinist times.

Metropolitan Filaret Interviewed on Church Issues

PM1101114589 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian 6-12 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 5 Jan) pp 4-5

[Interview with Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate Department of Foreign Church Relations, conducted by P. Lukyanchenko: "'The Time for Glasnost Has Come"—place, date not given]

[Text] [Lukyanchenko] Metropolitan, what has changed in the position of the Russian Orthodox Church in the year just ended?

[Metropolitan Filaret] My first thought is about whom I am conversing with. I'm conversing with a representative of the newspaper ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. This means that you need only facts.

And the facts we have are convincing ones. In the jubilee year, 697 former parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church resumed their activities. While the previous year, 1987, gave us only 16-18 new parishes. This says a great deal. And this fact testifies to the real restructuring in interrelations between church and state.

The adoption, at the last Regional Synod, of the statute on the management of the Russian Orthodox Church is one more significant fact.

The main feature we find heartening is the restoration of the role of the senior priest in the parish. How was it before? Church elders could often be heard saying: "Father, you stick to conducting the service, you stick to preaching, and we ourselves will tell you when and how to conduct the service." Now these provisions, which were legalized in 1961 and which contradicted the church's canonic structure, have been abolished. The priest is no longer a hireling, he is responsible for the life of the parish as a whole, he has the right to trace where the resources are going, whether they are going where the donors intended, and whether dishonest people are using these resources.

[Lukyanchenko] It is no secret that the church, as part of Soviet society, is suffering from similar illnesses to those suffered by society. As the Archbishops Khrizostom (Martishkin) and Kirill (Gundyayev) stated at the Regional Synod, it is essential to raise the morality not only of ordinary believers and clerics, but also of the highest members of the priesthood who "are not always a model of virtue." What is being done to cure these illnesses?"

[Metropolitan Filaret] The leitmotif of restructuring is a truth of life. And this truth of life concerns man's inner aspect, his moral perfection. And it is above all in the church where it is essential to pay the closest attention to this. If any shortcoming causes annoyance in secular society, then it is even more intolerable in ecclesiastical life. We must be more self-critical in restructuring conditions.

[Lukyanchenko] In a number of letters received by the editorial office, believers complain about the antidemocratic nature of certain decisions made by the Russian Orthodox Church leadership. It transpires from a message signed by 700 parishioners of the Krasnodar Cathedral that Archbishop Vladimir (Kotlyarov) who vigorously struggled against abuses in the ecclesiastical milieu, was removed from the eparchy and transferred to Pskov according to someone's secret instructions and with the assent of the Holy Synod. The parishioners are insisting on the archbishop's return. Will the Synod go some way to satisfy the believers' wishes?

[Metropolitan Filaret] This is not the only instance. Quite frequently when there are transfers both at the archdiocese level and at the level of ordinary priests, there are instances when parishioners make the requests: "Give us back our archbishop, give us back our father priest."

It must be said that the practice in our church of switching from one eparchy to another is generally quite widespread. I, of course, do not dismiss the idea that there may be unwarranted transfers, which have not been thoroughly weighed. But there are also clashes when a transfer to another eparchy is the only way out.

The church leadership is trying to be attentive to believers' requests. I make no secret that the love of Krasnodar's orthodox believers for their metropolitan arouses our finest feelings. But perhaps the church's interests must also be taken into account....

[Lukyanchenko] Metropolitan, you are the chief of the Russian Orthodox Church foreign policy department. And as head of this department you have made a very weighty contribution to regulating relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Papal Throne. As far as I know, the question of the Ukrainian Uniate Church remains the only stumbling block in these relations. What are the prospects for resolving this problem?

[Metropolitan Filaret] I would avoid the expression "foreign policy department." The name "department of foreign church relations" sounds, I think, no worse and quite clearly defines our establishment's function.

As concerns relations with the Roman papacy, then they are normal. Representatives [predstoyatel] of our churches are in fraternal correspondence.

The question of the Uniates is a truly difficult question and a stumbling block. We regard the Uniate movement as the non-ecclesiastical path to unity. Nonetheless, we would like to be honest in resolving this problem (as, by the way, in resolving other problems), to be absolutely open and to begin the discussion of this question at the coming session of Orthodox-Catholic dialogue.

At the end of our conversation may I thank your readers for the sincere interest, which touched our hearts, demonstrated by them and thousands of other Soviet people for the anniversary of our church. I would like to say thank you very much to all of them, to congratulate them on the occasion of Christmas, and wish them a radiant and joyous New Year.

Debt Rescheduling Should Be Discussed Publicly

PM1101125989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from Kiev reader under general heading "From the International Department Mailbag": "People Should Be Consulted"]

[Text] I am quite certain that the whole world was deeply impressed by M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly. The proposals put forward are truly constructive and downright stunning. But while our intentions to disarm are perfectly clear, I, for instance, am somewhat puzzled by the announcement that the USSR is prepared to establish a long moratorium—up to 100 years—on the repayment of debts by the least developed countries, and to write off the debts of some countries altogether.

This, unquestionably, is a noble undertaking. It will help tens of millions of people in these countries to raise their living standards. However, before putting forward such a large-scale proposal, it would probably be worthwhile discussing it at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet or even submitting it to a nationwide referendum. In the age of glasnost it is necessary to publish a table listing the debtor countries, the size of their debt, the dates when repayment is due, the size of interest payments, and so forth, so that Soviet people have an idea of what sacrifices they will have to make in order make the life of other peoples easier.

After all, we have a negative state budget balance in our country at the moment. We have not recovered yet from the multibillion expenditure for the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. Now an equal if not larger sum will have to be spent on rebuilding Armenian cities and villages hit by the earthquake. How will we be able to help other countries (after all, billions of dollars are probably involved!) if we are in need ourselves? I believe that in the future such important decisions should be announced only after preliminary consultation with the broadest strata of the public.

Signed: Ye. Stepanov, Kiev.

Army Invalid Appeals for Equal Treatment

PM1101165289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from invalid A. Novikov of Vladivostok under the rubric "Letters...'Not for Publication'": "Equality in Injury"]

[Text] Our state has recently shown much concern for the internationalist servicemen who lost their health or were disabled in the course of their service duties. That is very necessary. But why have they forgotten about other people who are equally in need of help—I am talking about Soviet Army and Navy invalids who were disabled not in Afghanistan, but long before those events?

I, for instance, lost an arm in carrying out my military service duties in peacetime. After several operations and my discharge from the hospital, they gave me a minimum pension, R40, and...forgot I existed. Since then I am "no one's responsibility." Neither the military commissariat, nor the labor collective where I used to work, nor the collectives of reserve servicemen remember me. The military commissariat, for instance, does not even send me a card on 23 February [Army Day] for moral support.

There are many like me in the country. In my city we sometimes meet at the order desks, sympathize with each other over our neglected situation, and separate with bowed heads. We awaited with special hope the 70th anniversary of our Army, and...again we were ignored. Under the provision, the jubilee medal was awarded to those who had orders and medals before that time, that is, Great Patriotic War veterans and "Afghaners." But we who served during the Hungarian and Czechoslovak events and took part in border conflicts were not seen off from our military units or greeted ceremonially at the airports during the stagnation years, as you know. We have no distinctions, although we too did our duty worthily. Whose invalids are we? Will the

state not remember us even in the years of restructuring? It is my conviction that anyone whom the Motherland has sent to fulfill his military duty, even in peacetime, should be sure that in the event of an accident or injury he has a right to count on social protection.

A. Novikov,

Invalid, third category.

Vladivostok.

Letter From Syrian on Moscow Racist Incident

PM1101165089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from Syrian citizen Baha' al-Din Ahmad under the rubric "Letters...'Not for Publication'": "A Worrying Encounter"]

[Text] I arrived in the USSR from Syria in 1983. I went to the P. Lumumba University of the Peoples' Friendship.

One evening, when a friend (she was from the GDR) and I were coming out of the "Novyye Cheremushki" subway station, two men stopped us. Six others were standing by the underpass. They asked me: "Are you a foreigner?" I replied: "Yes." Then they asked my girlfriend: "You are Russian, aren't you ashamed to date a foreigner?" And it was only when they learned that my girlfriend was a foreigner too that they let us go. If she had been a Russian, doubtless they would have beaten us both up.

I realize that a handful of hooligans cannot represent a city or country. What worries me is something else: Episodes like this, which you can only call Nazism, are not isolated occurrences.

Baha' al-Din Ahmad,

Syrian citizen.

Problems Confronted in Labor Colonies Viewed

PM1201100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[V. Trokhin report: "Restricted Area. Top Secret"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—Fence and barbed ware. A gate—an iron curtain on creaky hinges. Bars and bolts. A bell when you enter, a bell when you leave. Hence, probably, the phrase—from one bell to the next. The restricted area. It separates our world from the restricted territory where convicts serve their term. It used to be an insuperable barrier even for glasnost.

"Mr correspondent, listen to us," shouts came from all sides, and hands, feet, and mugs banged on cell doors. The crashing and banging echoed down the narrow corridor and the warders rattled the locks and bolts but were unable to restrain the penal detention center. The prisoners only calmed down when they were promised that everyone would be heard.

There were many people interested: It is unusual for a correspondent to go to a strict regime colony. Nikolay Petrovich Zdorov, chief of the establishment, was worried that there would be more slander. Although the people we were dealing with were hardened criminals—inveterate shirkers and violators of internal procedures, punished by being put in the penal detention block and cell-like buildings—his misgivings were in vain. No, they didn't curse the bosses, they didn't complain about the harshness of the regime, they didn't try to convince me of the injustice of their sentence. They merely wanted... to make contact with me. They saw me as someone from another planet. The conversation topics surprised me. One man talked for a long time about his love of music, another talked in an extremely interesting way about the new nontraditional methods of cultivating truck garden crops, and a third recounted a tale of his escape from prison long ago.

However, no sooner had I looked at my interlocutors' personal files than my fascination with the tales dissipated. A whole range of crimes—theft, hooliganism, aggravated assault, and robbery. Even here in the colony they furiously oppose the regime, fervently preserve criminal traditions, and exert an adverse influence on others.

Sergey Vasilyevich Sergeyev, deputy chief of the establishment for regime operations work, said:

"We see that our role lies in smashing criminal traditions. But active struggle also gives rise to active opposition. The more uncomfortable life in the colony is, the freer the convicts who are in no hurry to embark on the road of correction feel. Some adapt, start to trust the administration, and hold leadership posts among their fellows. You can't deny that many hardened criminals have brains, strength of will, and organizational capabilities. This is what happened when the administration compromised with a 'defiant gang.' Its leaders were put in charge. The colony's leaders found that it was easier that way to demand fulfillment of the plan and that was the main indicator of the establishment's activity. We are combating this, although, to be frank, the work is very difficult."

Certainly, there are many problems. The period of stagnation not only had a pernicious effect on the economy, it also provoked an increase in the crime rate and complicated the fight against crime. Many camps were considerably overcrowded recently. The colony had a production unit that could provide work for 600-800 men, say, yet it had more than 2,000. It was difficult to re-educate the convicts in that situation. For instance, some years ago 3,000 men were left without work every day in Krasnoyarsk Kray's colonies. Even the equipment used by the inmates left a great deal to be desired. The

establishments' financial position was critical and many colonies received state subsidies—that is, they were unable to provide for their own needs. While fulfilling the work plan, the administration was forced to humiliate convicts with trifling wages and an incomplete working day. Everyone saw the deception, of course, but people who opposed the administration played on that.

The situation is changing now. A number of amnesties have relieved the camps. Some unwanted camps have been closed. In the last 2 years alone the population of corrective establishments in Krasnoyarsk Kray has fallen by 10,000. Although everyone is provided with work today, the questions have remained.

The convicts are working on the construction of a container plant. But poor use is being made of their labor. The construction site is in a mess owing to a lack of the requisite materials and the requisite equipment, and people are working unproductively. I attended a team leaders' meeting. Serious problems were raised here and the team leaders demanded true work and glasnost in the payment of wages and bonuses.

"A man has reformed spiritually," team leader S. Rydvanov said, "and wants to earn his freedom through honest labor, but he has to find himself work on site. There are constant holdups with materials. If we aren't needed here, find us another job."

Yet a convict's wages are not only money which he obtains on his release or which he can use to buy something for himself in the colony. The wages are also real money for paying off the damage he has done the state as a result of his crimes. They go toward payment for legal costs and child maintenance. In short, bad management and negligence on the part of the trust leaders and their attitude to the utilization of the criminals' labor has an extremely substantial effect on state's interests. At the time of my visit, for instance, the maintenance debt in this colony alone totaled R19,000.

Nonetheless restructuring has also reached these places that used to be off limits to glasnost. Both the convicts and the warders mention this. Yu. Shumman, onetime incorrigible violator of the prison regime and now the best team leader in the strict regime colony, told me:

"I've been in prison for 6 years. I opposed internal procedure for more than half of that time. I didn't trust anything. Outside, you see the newspapers, things are happening so you feel like living differently. We also need to restructure ourselves and prepare for a different life. Only someone who doesn't want to will fail to realize this."

Correction to Law on Elections of Deputies

The following correction pertains to the item subheadlined "Law on Elections of Deputies" under the headline "More on USSR Supreme Soviet 29 Nov-1 Dec Sessions," published in the 5 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 35-81:

page 44, column 2, delete paragraph three, first sentence: "If only one..." through paragraph four, last sentence: "...these social organizations." (deleting passages which were deleted from draft version and should not be considered part of the law's text)

Economic

Economic Official Interviewed on Reform Process

PM1101161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism, by D. Valovoy: "Reform: Step by Step. The Almost Completed Transition of Enterprises to Full Economic Accountability and Self-Financing Is the Topic of an Interview With S.A. Sitaryan, Deputy Chairman of the Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism"—place, date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Enterprises in the coal industry, the power industry, grain products, land reclamation, and the entire agro-industrial complex were transferred to full economic accountability and self-financing as of 1 January 1989. Organizations in the nonproduction sphere will also start switching to economic accountability. Thus, all enterprises in the country's national economy will operate in new conditions this year and attention is being focused mainly on tuning up the new economic mechanism in order to ensure that, starting already in the 13th 5-Year Plan period, it will produce its full effect on acceleration.

[Valovoy] Stepan Aramaisovich, the process of revolutionary renewal, which means the demolition of the administrative edict system of leadership which prevailed for decades and the creation of a new economic mechanism, is entering a highly crucial stage. From the viewpoint of accumulated experience, how do you assess today the actual course of economic reform?

[Sitaryan] If I were to try to describe the overall picture at present, I could say that the field of action of the old administrative edict methods is narrowing, while innovations are becoming more and more firmly established in the country's economic structure. But this is a multistage process, it is far from complete, it is still in progress; and it has to be bluntly said: It appeared much simpler and easier at the beginning. The inertia of the old is still powerful. Hence the numerous contradictions and difficulties that are typical of any period of transition from the old to the new. But the main point is that reform is beginning to have its effect. Within a very brief period of some 2-3 years we have carried out one of its central and crucial tasks—the transition of all enterprises in the material production sphere to the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. We might recall that in the past, when implementing the

ideas of the 1965 reform, the process of switching enterprises in the material production sectors to the new conditions of economic management stretched over 10-15 years, in which time the principles of reform were gradually lost and the reform itself virtually ground to a halt. In my view, therefore, the maximum possible reduction of the time span for enterprises' transition to full economic accountability lays sound foundations for the development of reform, boosts the overall dynamism of the process of restructuring all elements of the integrated system of management, and renders its development comprehensive.

[Valovoy] I agree that the completion of the transition of enterprises is a highly important fact in itself. But the results it produces are equally important. What was the performance of enterprises that were transferred to new conditions of economic management last year?

[Sitaryan] The final results will be summed up later. But some preliminary figures can be cited. First of all, there has been a certain improvement in the figures for the fulfillment of contract commitments. During the first 11 months of 1988 they were 0.6 percent higher than in the corresponding period of 1987. The growth rate of industrial output was also higher. Labor productivity increased 5.7 percent in 1988 against a 3.8 percent increase in 1987. Profit growth rates also increased, while prime costs fell.

[Valovoy] Nevertheless, let us be frank in admitting: A radical breakthrough has yet to be achieved....

[Sitaryan] You are correct. We cannot rest satisfied with the effect that has been produced. It is still small compared with society's expectations and with society's actual needs.

The imbalances and deformations prevailing in the past continue to exert pressure on the economy. Their burden has proved much heavier than we had estimated. Of course, during the past few years we have managed to halt the economy's slide toward a crisis situation. It has started gathering pace. The work of the national economy's base sectors has been stabilized, the process of getting machine building out of its state of stagnation is under way, and we have succeeded in achieving appreciable changes in the development of individual sectors in the social sphere. These positive trends intensified appreciably in 1988. But the economy's overall condition remains complex. There are many factors about which we simply kept silent in the past.

The budget deficit did not suddenly develop now. For a long time it has been deeply rooted in our economy and finances. The same can be said about the disruption in money circulation and the difficulties we are encountering in the commodities market. They are also rooted in the past. These problems cannot be easily solved overnight. We need not only efforts but also time. The main point is to ensure that scientific and technical progress, the main component of our economy's new qualitative growth, operates to full effect. This, perhaps, is where the breakthrough has yet to come.

[Valovoy] But results could have been better if the actual mechanism of new economic management methods had been better worked out at the beginning. Is this not so?

[Sitaryan] Yes, of course. A lot was not done immediately the way it should have been. There were shortcomings and outright miscalculations, unforeseen problem cropped up. Skill was lacking in the solution of many tasks; conservatism, fear, and even reluctance to accept the new produced their effect. Now, however, in the course of last year we accumulated experience with all its positive and negative aspects, and this is perhaps one of the main results of the reform. It makes it possible to guide general debates on its development along practical tracks, to resolve tasks rather than deliberating about them in general terms, to verify plans against reality, and to make the necessary ajustments wherever decisions that had been made proved to be ineffective or altogether incorrect.

[Valovoy] What do you have in mind?

[Sitaryan] For example, it was actually under the influence of practical experience that ideas on economic accountability underwent substantial evolution within a brief time period. It is well known that the Law on the State Enterprises suggested two models of economic accountability. The first is based on profits. The second is based on gross or economically accountable income. The bulk of enterprises opted for the first model, and only an insignificant proportion for the second. A total of 943 enterprises operated on economically accountable income as at 1 November 1988.

Yet, what has experience proved? The first model proved to be overloaded with norms and therefore less effective. The cost-cutting mechanism got fettered. The second model is a different matter. Here the wages fund is formed according to the principle of the residue method....

[Valovoy] But why was the second model of economic accountability not so widespread?

[Sitaryan] There are several reasons for this. First, this model is more rigid. It makes no allowance for loss-making and inflicts more tangible punishment on labor collectives for errors in work. It is therefore no accident that it is preferred by enterprises that are relatively solid and profitable. Second, the second model makes the process of earning money for the wages fund substantially more complex, thus frightening off some collectives by the impression that wages and funds must be earned afresh every time. Let me remind readers: Here there is no guaranteed base fund. There are also other knots that are now being untangled, and this is paving the way for the second model.

[Valovoy] Are you not out of step with life? After all, leasing—the new model of economic accountability—is more and more persistently knocking on the door at the grassroots level. Maybe that should be the one to be given the "green light?"

[Sitaryan] Yes, leasing could become one of the promising and progressive avenues in our economic activity. It makes it possible to closely combine the interests of the individual, the collective, and society. Leasing is undergoing active development today, especially at small and lossmaking enterprises. There are 270 collectives already operating under lease arrangements in Moscow Oblast alone. Leasing is gaining more and more advocates in virtually all sectors. From the beginning of 1989 elements of lease arrangements are also being introduced in the economically accountable activity of Sumy's M.V. Frunze Machine Building Science and Production Association.

[Valovoy] So what is the problem then? Should we be going all out for leasing?

[Sitaryan] I agree with you there. Leasing is still not fully fledged. What do I mean? An overall concept of lease arrangements has yet to be formulated. The socioeconomic consequences of the activity of lease enterprises have yet to be studied. There is no effective mechanism for the prompt renewal and modernization of fixed capital or for the technical development of enterprises and their material supplies, and there is no clarity in defining the procedure for calculating lease payments and for taxing the income of enterprises. It is therefore very important today to work out more quickly in practice the basic principles and mechanism for the functioning of enterprises in conditions of lease arrangements. This work is being done at present. It is nearing completion. The expansion of leasing will make it possible to take economic accountability to every section, every team, and every work position.

[Valovoy] But a stable benefit depends largely on balanced plans, on substantiated state orders and normatives. PRAVDA's mailbag contains many complaints on this count.

[Sitaryan] You are correct. External conditions and factors can indeed help full economic accountability to take off. On the other hand, they can also clip its wings. A threat of this nature emerged, for example, early last year as a result of excessive growth of the proportion of the plan represented by state orders, which substantially limited enterprises' independence in elaborating their production programs. The temporary regulations on the formation of state orders eased the tension that developed. In machine building, for example, the proportion of state orders has been reduced from 86 percent in 1988 to 25 percent in 1989....

[Valovoy] Does this mean that the problem has been solved?

[Sitaryan] The measures that have been taken must be perceived as transitional. They are actually described as temporary. The USSR Gosplan has to elaborate an ideology for state orders and a technique for their formation which more fully reflects the concept inherent in this new area of planning.

It is not just a matter of quantitatively optimizing the size of state orders. It could be different for different sectors. It is necessary to accurately define the consumer's role and rights when they are formed and to develop in practice competitive principles in the placement of state orders. The solution of these questions is directly linked with improving market balance and supply.

Much work remains to be done on economic normatives. Why have they proved to be flawed? We faced real-life constraints when formulating them: capital investment and contract work quotas, and also the financial allocation levels prescribed by the 5-year plan. This is why in 1987 the normatives for many enterprises were individualized for each year of the 5-year plan, with all ensuing defects. In 1988 the normatives were averaged out. The same ideology has been laid down for enterprises that started working in the new conditions this year. But differences in the base conditions for formulating normatives still remain. Hence the local complaints. There are also numerous complaints about the nonidentical size of normatives for payments into enterprises' economic incentives funds. Today, however—despite all the shortcomings of normatives—it is possible to single out one positive aspect: They remain stable as far as enterprises are concerned. They were not revised when the 1989 plan was being drawn up.

But the problem as a whole is still not solved. We are now working out the scientific bases for the formulation of economic normatives for the 13th 5-Year Plan period. The basis of and technique governing their structure will be worked out, uniformity of approach toward all enterprises when they are being formulated will be intensified, and their incentive role will be enhanced.

[Valovoy] The fact that we essentially do not have wholesale trade in the means of production is a constraint on the development of full economic accountability. Is there any acceleration planned in this sector of restructuring?

[Sitaryan] The pace of wholesale trade development is indeed inadequate.

[Valovoy] What are the reasons for this?

[Sitaryan] There are numerous reasons. They include the existence of major imbalances and shortages in the national economy, the fear of ministries and central economic departments to relinquish the reins used to control the movement of material resources, and the imperfect organizational mechanism for their distribution. There is also the inadequate development, and at

times even total absence, of horizontal ties in the national economy. And then there is the imperfection of the entire price mechanism.

[Valovoy] Is this not likely to clip the wings of economic accountability?

[Sitaryan] Yes, we are increasingly feeling the effect of the lag in the development of wholesale trade. There are growing contradictions in the development of the new mechanism itself. And the problem of spending the funds at enterprises' disposal is one of the most acute problems today.

The parameters of wholesale trade have been defined for the next few years. Spending within this framework totaled R40 billion in 1988. This amount is set to reach R115 billion this year, and it is planned to increase to R200 billion in 1990. But this process is still very complex and contradictory.

[Valovoy] Is it not likely that the imperfectness of individual elements of reform and their piecemeal introduction will create complications and new contradictions in the economy's development? Yet again, even in the new conditions of economic management, enterprises are holding on to their existing reserves and striving to take on fewer plan commitments. Our mailbag contains quite a few reports to this effect.

[Sitaryan] I agree. The transitional nature of the establishment of the new economic mechanism is giving rise to new problems and bringing more sharply into focus the need to thoroughly work out the mechanism for coordinating the collective economically accountable interests of enterprises with social interests, with the plan and the market.

[Valovoy] Could you develop this idea more specifically?

[Sitaryan] Of course I can. For example, once given independence in planning, enterprises often set their plan indicators lower than the 5-year plan control figures. In profit terms, for example, enterprises' counterplans for 1988 were more than R5 billion lower than the initial figures. At the same time, the actual anticipated profits for the year will exceed the control figures by more than R10 billion. We came up against exactly the same process in the 1989 plan.

[Valovoy] What makes labor collectives do this?

[Sitaryan] Primarily the fact that the economic machinery itself is imperfect. The point is that enterprises' economic incentive funds are formed from actually received profits or revenues. At the onset it is possible to set a low plan without any fear since in the event of its overfulfillment you will receive your share by virtue of this very fact. This often generates difficulties in terms of material backup for the plan. If an enterprise thinks that its plan is unbalanced it tries to revise it downward and thus avoid paying fines—which often are in excess of the profit markup—for nondelivery of output.

[Valovoy] There has been a noticeably stronger tendency for enterprises to hike prices and "flush" cheaper goods out of the plan. In this way they earn both profit and prestige. And the purchasers suffer. Surely this is also abnormal?

[Sitaryan] There is no escaping the facts. Many enterprises abuse the practice of contract prices and raise them. How did this become possible? Today we are dealing with a monopoly producer's market. No principles of competition have yet been elaborated. As a matter of fact, we have still not shaped a proper market. This enables producers to acquire unearned profits and consequently to pay unearned wages. Wages increased in many enterprises in 1988 considerably faster than increased labor productivity, and this intensifies inflationary processes.

At the same time, there is no need to blame all the price "sins" on the lower levels of management, on the enterprises themselves. The processes occurring in the sphere of pricing are not only a result of enterprises' behavior and their irrepressible desire to acquire unearned money, but also the result of pressure exerted on them by ministries and by planning and finance organs via gross-output indicators, under the influence of which they often "inflate" commodity output and profits either by discontinuing cheaper products or by increasing prices. By no means everything is rosy in pricing methodology. It would be incorrect to disregard these circumstances and to place all the blame on enterprises, because in such a case we will not find a correct and comprehensive solution to the problem as a whole.

[Valovoy] At the same time it is necessary to get rid of the gross-output approach more quickly. Enterprises' work and the pace of their economic growth should not be evaluated on the basis of commodity production and sales of output. This is an absurdity, after all, but we seem totally unable to get rid of it. And yet value indicators push enterprises into raising their prices and discontinuing the cheaper ranges.

[Sitaryan] You are correct. But I would like to say something else. Many scientists and practitioners, distancing themselves from what is certainly the correct premise of rejecting gross indicators as being directive planning, arrive at rejecting the role of all value indicators, and of profit in particular, as the basis for the economically accountable organization of enterprises' activity. They want to push us back in the direction of physical yardsticks for measuring output and the results of labor as being the only reliable ones. But a physical magnitude is only a measure of utility; it tells us that a product has a use but does not answer the question of efficiency: Is it profitable or lossmaking? Of course, it is

hard to imagine a "sterilely clean" profit, but everything must be done to ensure than enterprises do not earn "speculative" profits. But we should not throw the baby out with the bath water.

I think that, despite the inevitable difficulties, we ought to move on and seek ways to solve the problems arising in the course of reform by economic methods, and to rely less on the excessive force of administrative methods.

[Valovoy] But in order to advance confidently along this path we need to have reliable scientific backup for the course of reform. What is your opinion of the state of affairs in this regard?

[Sitaryan] Many of the difficulties we come up against in the course of implementing the reform are due to the fact that sufficiently reliable scientific ideas are still lacking in many areas. We are forced to adopt the trial and error method. A growing number of new suggestions and initiatives are originating at local level; leasing as a form, for example, was conceived at grassroots level. Enterprises were the first to issue shares. Joint stock firms emerged at enterprises. We proved to be less than ready when it came to how to build lease relations and how to manage the process of share issues.

Work is now being done to elaborate the complex and multifaceted problem of territorial economic accountability. Here we are experiencing the acute effect of an inadequate theoretical and methodological base. The very first steps of reform demand the galvanization of taxes as a management instrument. Here too we are still groping for solutions to the questions.

[Valovoy] What would you say about the training of economic managers for work in the new fashion?

[Sitaryan] Unfortunately, we are still coming up against a lack of not only economic but I would say even mental training of many economic leaders and engineering and technical staff, and even of enterprise economists, for work in the new conditions. Many of them are used to checking every step they take against a ramified range of directive targets, previously established provisions, and numerous instructions and rules. Having gained long-awaited independence, they do not know how to act and what to do. Therefore, the questions of cadres' economic training are now coming to the fore. This also applies fully to officials from sector ministries and central economic organs. Economic managers must more quickly master the mechanism for the management of production with the help of new tools like the market, profit, prices, credits, taxes, normatives, and contracts, they must be able to make their word worth something.

[Valovoy] One last question: What are the avenues along which we ought to concentrate the main efforts for enhancing the efficiency of all work on the implementation of the ideas of reform?

[Sitaryan] They are extremely diverse. But if you mean the most topical avenues, I would single out the following.

First, in the very near future we must analyze in depth the results of enterprises' work in the new conditions in 1988, find out what is not working and why, and get down to more careful tuning of the mechanism and more rigorous interlinking of its individual elements.

Second, we must give broad scope to the development of lease arrangements. It is necessary to work out the mechanism of the second form of economic accountability in order to galvanize to the utmost the effect of modern economic accountability ideas and to really activate the interests of collectives and of every worker.

Third, attention will also focus in the near future on work to elaborate general principles of regional management and the transfer of republics to the principles of self-management and self-financing.

Fourth and last, it is necessary not only to assimilate the idea of the socialist market but also to learn to manage it in practice using plan and prices, finances, credits, and securities, and to elaborate and successfully implement an antimonopoly and anti-inflation policy.

[Valovoy] One more question in this case. The commission must focus its attention on all these problems, a lot depends on it. How do you assess its work?

[Sitaryan] The commission is working pretty intensively. It meets virtually every day, examining and solving numerous questions concerning the implementation of the reform. But the commission's work must become more efficient. We ought to concentrate our attention on major questions of principle, and yet we are often forced to tackle "trivial" issues, multitudes of them. The work of the commission's scientific section is insufficiently productive. Some of our eminent scientists are concentrated in it, and its fruitfulness could be greater.

A decision aimed at enhancing the efficiency of the commission's work has been adopted, and its functions have been clarified. Henceforth it will be called the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Improving the Economic Mechanism. I think that all this should help to galvanize the commission's work and will enhance its role in the implementation of radical economic reform.

Agricultural

Academician Comments on Agro-Industrial 'Crisis'

PM1101101789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Academician V.A. Dobrynin of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences conducted by own correspondent V. Nastichenko under the "Topical Dialogue" rubric: "An Undoubted Help!"; date, place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Our editorial office, like all other newspapers, receives quite a few letters in which readers ask questions concerning food problems. Our correspondent here

talks with Academician Vladimir Aleksandrovich Dobrynin of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, doctor of economic sciences.

[Nastichenko] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, it is no secret that the country is presently going through another food supply crisis. You and I have experienced this in Moscow, where we have seen half-empty shelves when out shopping, and this is also indicated by the letters sent to our editorial office. One such letter from E. Kotov, a fitter in the city of Shelekhov, Irkutsk Oblast, shook me, to be honest.

"It will soon be 4 years since 'restructuring began striding across the country.' 'Society is being cleansed of the phenomena of stagnation.' People are 'breathing, working, and thinking differently'.... 'Revolutionary transformations in all spheres of public life' are under way....

"I will not quote any more from our newspapers. Everything is clear there. But how do you deal with the rationing system for basic foodstuffs introduced in our city? Getting your ration cards filled is the major problem for every family. Have you tried waiting in line 3 hours for your ration? I will not enumerate the items in short supply—I can obtain without trouble only perhaps fish cuts and lottery tickets...."

There are quite a few such letters. Virtually all of them ask the same question: "How long is such a situation going to last? What solution does agrarian science see to it?"

[Dobrynin] I must immediately say that the crisis in the agro-industrial complex is the consequence of a disease afflicting our entire economy. It is not a coincidence, after all, that a law on the state budget has been adopted: The state budget deficit amounts to R35 billion. Overall financial reform is essential if the whole economy is to be improved.

Since the beginning of this year all agro-industrial enterprises have switched over to economic accountability. But with the level of profitability prevailing at those enterprises and under conditions of self-financing it is impossible to establish normal production, let alone expand it.

[Nastichenko] So you think that "self-financing" is a premature step?

[Dobrynin] No, not premature. It is, however, necessary at the same time to tackle the question of prices. There must be an equivalent exchange, since self-financing presupposes that we must not only cover expenditure but also carry out production on an expanded basis. Look, in the last few years in the agro-industrial sector prices for the means of production, which we obtain from industry, including the chemical industry sector, have increased 2-3 times. Purchase prices, however, have not gone up. The markups which existed in 1983 have already been "swallowed up" by the increased prices.

[Nastichenko] You propose to increase only purchase prices?

[Dobrynin] You cannot produce meat for R7 and sell it for R2. The economy is being toyed with, and it is leading to undesirable results. Or take bread. The well-known economist Kondratyev, who was repressed and subsequently shot, once proposed so-called replacement-cost prices for bread which the state purchased from the peasants. But Stalin and his entourage failed to heed his advice, accusing him of pandering to the kulaks. And what did that lead to? The peasants stopped producing and selling bread. We also have problems with bread in our country, as you know. Therefore bread, which is not valued and is tossed out everywhere, must not be sold at such a low price. The cost of bread for Americans is virtually the same as for meat.

[Nastichenko] I cannot agree with everything you say here. Imagine how such a measure would hit the pocket of very large number of people, including, I will not hide it, mine too.

[Dobrynin] There must therefore be compensatory factors. Tax, which I consider very high, must be reduced and prices on certain less scarce foodstuffs reduced. But it won't work when Fanta and Pepsi Cola cost almost twice as much as milk. Everything must be the other way round. And the most basic thing is that prices for industrial goods be reduced. Yet they, on the contrary, are going up.

That is where the problem lies, that is where the imbalance in pricing makes itself felt. The price of certain kinds of goods is 10 times above the prime cost. This happens because the officials heading the State Committee on Prices do not pay enough attention to scientists. Professor Yurovskiy, the well-known scientist, was once chief advisor to People's Commissar of Finances Sokolnikov. By 1924 he had managed to improve the whole financial system and the ruble "went gold."

Of course, much is being done now: We are introducing leasing and contracts, which give people an incentive, and cooperatives. Although certain cooperative members compromise this form when they do not procure, say, meat but purchase it in a store for R2 and then sell it for R25. That is no longer cooperative activity but sheer speculation.

[Nastichenko] And how do you regard the opinion that kolkhozes must be replaced and the land returned to the peasants?

[Dobrynin] In such cases I always recall Kozma Prutkov [comic, complacent, dull-witted, poet-official created by group of mid-19th century writers], who used to say "When something is not going right you need to reorganize." We are constantly reorganizing ourselves. We already have major production units formed. Such an opinion on the kolkhozes has spread because they have

not been allowed and continue today not to be allowed to work normally for a single moment. Wherever a leader is decisive, self-reliant, and not afraid of taking the initiative you get a well-run farm. But when rank amateurs begin to lecture professionals, to tackle on their behalf many questions they do not understand, and give instructions by telephone, that is to say, accept no responsibility, we get the disgraceful state of affairs that makes many people think that the kolkhozes' day is over.

[Nastichenko] How is restructuring in the agro-industrial sector going?.

[Dobrynin] Badly. I have just returned from Yaroslavl Oblast. Everything is being taken away from the enterprises. A situation of 100-percent state orders prevails. What improvement is this on the old food requisitioning system?

But not everything is so pessimistic. If decisive measures are taken on the questions we have already discussed everything will gradually return to normal. Moreover the new government act, which cannot but be welcomed, will help the agro-industrial complex in many respects, since around 250 plants in the defense sectors and many medium-sized machine-building enterprises are now engaged in tackling agricultural problems. And that is bound to have an impact. Yet the capacities for processing agricultural output lag far behind the actual growth in agricultural output. We are unable therefore to process and store what is grown and lose a ridiculous amount of output per year. More than 1 million tonnes of meat annually! This year 55,000 tonnes of cabbages have had to be buried near Rostov-na-Donu. They have started plowing in cabbages in the Kuban region. We cannnot harvest them, we cannot transport them, we cannot process them. We do not have the capacity. People are waiting in line for tomatoes in Moscow and other cities but there.... One can only rejoice that other sectors have finally turned their gaze on agriculture.

[Nastichenko] You know, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, I foresee that many people will disagree with you. There is already the feeling that this is all unrealistic, that people who have worked all their lives in the defense industry will never be able to "make tasty jam."

[Dobrynin] How can one say such a thing? We have highly professional personnel and first-class machine builders there. I do not think that retraining requires a lot of work on their part. Certain facts, incidentally, already bear this out. I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, cited in an interview in IZVESTIYA the example of a design bureau in charge of new aircraft development which is already designing prototypes of new fruit and vegetable processing machines.

How can one turn down help? We are aware, of course, that it is not the best plants that are being transferred, but, you'll forgive me, there is no point in being hard to please. Particularly with the current situation in the processing industry. The government and the Ministry of Defense should be thanked for the decision they have made. "Unrealistic"! Surely it is unrealistic to buy foodstuffs with foreign currency when we can be fully self-sufficient in food provided we rectify things in terms of harvesting, storage (it is ludicrous that we lack ordinary packaging material), and also processing.

I am sure that this is of very great help to the agro-industrial complex. The same help as, for example, the roads that the Army is now building for us.

Scientific

Optical System of Cosmos-1989 Described

PM1201114989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by V. Grishmanovskiy, winner of Lenin and State Prizes and deputy scientific leader of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology and Space Instrument Making Research Institute: "'Etalon' Launch; Cosmos-1989; Our Commentary"]

[Excerpts] All major mechanical changes taking place on earth, in near-earth space, and inside the earth are of considerable scientific and social interest because it is they that give rise to catastrophic phenomena—earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tidal waves. [passage omitted]

Whereas in the early sixties satellite geodesy's main objective was merely to determine the position of the satellite in space and fixed points on the earth's surface in a regional system of coordinates, the accuracy of the determination of these has now reached such a high order that it has become possible to detect, with the aid of laser range-finding, very slight (1-2 cm per year) changes in the position of points on the earth and in the paramaters of the gravitational field. Moreover, with satellite observations the movement of the earth's belts can be determined with considerably greater accurancy compared with traditional astronomical methods. In connection with the need for the high-precision determination of the coordinates of various points and space installations within a unified geocentric system, an international service began operating in 1988 for the regular, prompt determination of the parameters of the earth's rotation. [passage omitted]

So what does the "Etalon" ("Cosmos-1989") passive space apparatus consist of?

It consists of a spherical hollow shell approximately 1.3 meters in diameter containing a balancing mechanism serving to colocate the satellite's center of mass with its geometrical center. Its external surface is covered with more than 2,000 optical light-reflective prisms made of fused quartz glass in the shape of a trihedral pyramids cut in a specific manner from cubes of quartz. The chief property of this unique optical element is the ability to

precisely reflect back on themselves light emissions striking the entrant facet an angle. Thus, the "Etalon" passive space apparatus is a spherical light-reflective system that, while in orbit, reflects in the direction of the transmitter no matter what the angle of the satellite's position virtually all the laser emissions striking the satellite when surface stations are performing range-finding surveys.

Laser stations coordinated by the USSR Academy of Sciences Astronomical Council and also space communication centers' stations will be used for the surveys.

Baklanov, Gusev Attend Chemistry Exhibition

PM1101120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Visit To Exhibition"]

[Text] No sector of a modern economy can develop without extensive utilization of chemical processes and materials. The scale and range of application of chemical output are expanding rapidly. This task is being resolved in our country within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for the Chemicalization of the Economy, whose implementation is making it possible to take a large step in building up the country's economic potential. The "Chemistry and the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress" exhibition, in which more than 20 ministries and departments are taking part, has opened at the USSR National Exhibition of Economic Achievements. More than 2,500 exhibits are on display providing a graphic idea of the achievements of chemistry and the chemical materials and technologies of the future. A specialized exhibition is also functioning alongside this. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the exhibitions on 9 January.

The exhibitions demonstrate a broad spectrum of promising construction polymers, plastic and rubber products, chemical output for agriculture and the food industry, membrane technologies, biotechnological processes, and state-of-the-art automation and computer control systems. A diverse range of goods for the people and medicinal aids are on show in the "Chemistry at the Service of Man" section.

An exchange of opinions took place on contemporary trends in the development of chemistry and the practical steps that have been taken to increase manufacture of chemical output since the May 1988 CPSU Central Committee conference. The importance of making broader use of new and primarily composite materials in the production of automobiles, aircraft, ships, and other equipment was pointed out. The CPSU Central Committee secretary devoted particular attention to examining chemistry's potential for environmental protection. There was talk of introducing modern waste-free technologies guaranteeing ecological safety at enterprises and making comprehensive use of natural resources.

When discussing the results of the tour, it was stressed that the efforts of all the interested ministries should be pooled in providing chemical enterprises with the requisite equipment, the shortage of which is at present one of the main reasons hampering the development of this important economic complex.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; and other party and economic leaders.

Deputy Minister on Conversion of Jamming Stations

PM1101105589 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 4

[I. Tsarev "Mini-Interview": "Thunder Vanishes From the Airwaves"]

[Text] The jamming of Deutsche Welle, Voice of Israel, and Radio Liberty broadcasts in the USSR was stopped recently. (Other Western broadcasts had already ceased to be jammed). Artificial barriers will no longer clutter up the airwaves—an event that illustrates the triumph of glasnost. What will happen now to the silent jamming stations?

"We will dismantle the obsolete ones. The rest will be used. But for quite different purposes," USSR First Deputy Minister of Communications G. Kudryavtsev said. "Very soon they will start operating as radio broadcasting stations, filling the vacant spaces in the airwaves with local, republican, and oblast programs."

[Tsarev] The jamming stations were usually situated in city centers. And in many places the electromagnetic radiation from them exceeded permitted health levels in adjacent houses. Will this be taken into account in the present situation?

[Kudryavtsev] Of course. The new use will mean a smaller number of transmitters and, consequently, less radiation. But in any place where the permitted levels are still being exceeded the station will simply be closed.

Military

Colonel Suggests Expanded Draft Age Range

PM1101113989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel A. Rutskoy: "The People Have an Army"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted explaining that the author wants to answer the mass media which recently have been seeking "to cast a shadow on our armed forces." He cites examples of servicemen's bravery, but acknowledges that instances of cowardly behavior are sometimes encountered]

Among other things, there is "hazing"—barracks hooliganism—in the army. I myself have encountered this shameful phenomenon and struggled against it. I know this struggle is being waged everywhere in the Armed Forces. After all, we officers are also fathers and our children also serve in the army. So that in this case our concern, pain, and anger are common and nationwide. But let's discuss the following point together.

I read in one newspaper the bitter words of a mother who wanted to look into the eyes of the officer whose subordinates had humiliated her son. I agree with her. The commander is indeed responsible for everything in the collective entrusted to him, for every man. But, after all, the person who humiliated her son also has parents, who raised him. There was the teacher in the kindergarten, the class leader at school. And why do we seldom speak of the role of the pioneer and Komsomol organizations and the atmosphere that reigns in many rural vocational and technical colleges? A young man spends 18 years preparing for service and being formed as an individual and serves for only 2 years. Yet in the army he must be turned into a soldier, trained in a military speciality, and tempered physically. There is no point in concealing the fact that many of those who join the military ranks at first cannot even chin themselves. Is there much time left for purely educational work? And often the young men must not only be educated but reeducated. This, as I have frequently had occasion to convince myself, is far harder.

Let's talk about the following point. Are there drug addicts among draftees? There are. Heavy drinkers? They exist. Men with criminal records? There are also enough of them. In addition to these, other, not entirely socially and morally mature young men are drafted into the army. How many are there of them in all? I don't know. But you have to work with every one....

It must be frankly admitted that the army is not doing all its work in many respects. There are both objective reasons, some of which have been mentioned above, and subjective reasons. We are not shirking responsibility, we welcome just criticism, and are grateful for it. But you will not help matters by belittling the importance and prestige of the officer in an offhand manner and blaming him alone for every trouble. It is necessary to consolidate the forces of the army and of those departments and organizations that are involved in training young men for army service and educating them. A constructive approach and a collective quest are needed.

Perhaps one way out is for our sacred concepts—"military duty, honor, patriotism, comradeship" and much else—not to be written off into the "reserve," into "retirement," but to be filled with the wind of restructuring and developed at a qualitatively new level? Especially now that a substantial reduction of our armed forces lies ahead.

Let's take drafting into the army. Understandably, there are so-called demographic problems here. Objectively. But nevertheless is it not better to expand its age range from 18 to, for instance, 25? So that it is not only men of the same age but also technical college and institute graduates who serve in the platoon, company, or squadron. Then, in my view, those who now usually act in the role of "hazers" would not take the role of informal leaders. People would be drawn to more mature servicemen who had graduated from a VUZ or technical college. There would also be people to promote from their ranks to junior commander posts. Education (and that means authority), life experience (not a youth but a man), and a man with higher education is hardly likely to allow "hazing." I also suggest that the teaching of aesthetics, ethics, pedagogics, and psychology be expanded in the military academy programs. The broader the officer's purview, the more rapidly he will be able to find a common language with his subordinates.

...The people have an Army—an inalienable element of the socialist social organism. For many generations of Soviet people, military service has become a school of life, a school for forming responsibility, courage, and patriotism, has taught them to adopt an active life stance. The clean air of restructuring is helping today to boost the martial and political activeness of the men in military uniform. The Army and Navy public's reaction to negative phenomena is increasingly acute and an atmosphere of mutual respect, openness, and businesslike criticism and self criticism is being asserted increasingly noticeably in the military collectives. And in this I see a guarantee of the further raising of the Armed Forces' combat readiness and the growth of its prestige.